IDENTITY AS A PROBLEM IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL IDENTITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE 'WORLD' OF EDUCATION

by

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A research project submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London.

February, 1983

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DECLARATION

I certify that this research project does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any University; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature .....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the advice, support and encouragement of my supervisor, Dr. Chris Mullard, and of Professor Kevin Marjoribanks who gave so generously of his time to read, and comment on, the text.

It is impossible to thank adequately Sister Judith Redden of my religious community for her never failing support and for endless hours of proof reading; and that other community of which I feel a part - Strelley. The marrngu and whitefellas there gave so generously of their time and themselves and taught me so much in the course of the project.

Without exception, all the school personnel and 'reality definers' interviewed did all in their power to make the project possible.

I acknowledge my debt to them all; and finally to those who typed the manuscript - Julie Tonkin, Loretta Barr and Shirley Hughes.

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ABSTRACT

The object of the research was to map Aboriginal 'worlds' in order to establish the components of a viable individual and group identity for Aboriginal people.

Three research contexts were established:

1) Strelley Community, a tradition-oriented group in the Pilbara region of Western Australia. The group had forged social structures with the specific aim of conserving Aboriginal identity;

2) Port Augusta, a country town located in the north of South Australia, a town situated at geographical and cultural crossroads for Aboriginal people;

3) Metropolitan Adelaide which received migrations from the sixties onwards, chiefly from two Aboriginal reserves, Point McLeay and Point Pearce.

Identity was defined as the location of the self, both by the self and others in a particular world of meaning.

The problem which was investigated was one of how identity is socially constructed and socially maintained. The research, therefore, was located theoretically into that area of sociology concerned with the social construction of reality - namely, the sociology of knowledge.

The issues isolated for the study were

i) Interaction between psychological reality and psychological models - that is, the theorizing about 'worlds' of meaning, and the way in which this locates the people into a particular identity.

(ii) Interaction between social structure and the 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people find their identity - that is, the typifications of Aboriginal people which locate them into particular 'worlds'.

(iii) Interaction between the self and society - that is, the choice among the identities offered by these 'worlds'.

The world of Aborigines was studied through an analysis of the conceptualisation of the Aboriginal world and the naming/identification of Aborigines found in Government legislation and policy before and after the 1967 Referendum.

The legislation and policy of governments before 1967 were seen to be based in conceptual machinery which acted to nihilate the symbolic world of the Aboriginal people and locate them within a universe having negative attributes. Constantly changing policies of identification/naming structured a situation for identity-diffusion.

Government policies post-1967 were seen to exclude Aborigines from a new Australian identity being fostered by the conceptualisation of Australia as a multicultural society. At the same time, Government policies, at the level of theorizing, gave positive recognition to the uniqueness of Aboriginal identity.

The Schools Commission, a government statutory body, gave positive support to the recognition of Aboriginal identity in practice, as well as theory, in the 'world' of schooling.

The 'worlds' of Strelley, Port Augusta and Adelaide were examined within Sorokin's categories relating to the construction of group identity.

The 'worlds' of schooling at each location were selected out as a context for studying the subjective correlates of identity.

It was found that the theorizing about Aboriginal identity on the part of the staffs of the schools in the study was supportive and reflected the differing 'worlds' of the particular clientele of each institution at the student level. However, it was found that the typifications of Aboriginal students by non-Aborigines was negative. This was less negative in schools where Aborigines were less visible and where theorizing on the part of the school was less overt.

Typifications of Aborigines by Aborigines was also negative. The stereotyping of the dominant society was shown to be internalised by Aborigines for Aborigines in general.

However, negative typifications were not internalised for the Aboriginal self (as opposed to typifications for Aborigines in general).

'Rudimentary theorizing' on the part of Aborigines was also positive. Aborigines theorized positively for the Aboriginal self about schooling and about interaction with the white world. Consonant

with this finding was the evidence that Aborigines typified 'Australians' positively, despite the fact that they, (the Aborigines), were typified negatively by Australians.

The expectation that Aboriginal students would, in general, show evidence of socialization into negative identity and identity-diffusion was not realised.

The school situation was seen as a locus for positive theorizing and for support for the construction of different Aboriginal identities, in accordance with the options made by the Aboriginal people.

The options revealed were

1) Theorizing permitting assimilation

2) Theorizing offering the possibility of integration and identification with pride as an Aborigine, but without claiming identials that were specifically Aboriginal

3) Theorizing for the maintenance of an Aboriginal identity secured by identials that are specifically Aboriginal.

Only Strelley offered a fourth possibility:

4) Theorizing that *structured* a situation for Aboriginal identity with a coherent ideological base.

Strelley exercised autonomy in all areas. The continuity of the group was provided for by indoctrination of the group into a common ideology, and by establishing processes for continual adaptation within the ideological base, and continuity of leadership.

In the metropolitan urban situation, among Aboriginal people, there was seen to be a lack of cohesion, a lack of clearly articulated ideology, a lack of an economic base for autonomy, a lack of acknowledged leadership.

It was concluded that the one institution in society currently permitting and supporting multi-structures within which Aboriginal identity could be constructed, for those choosing this option, was the school.

Schools based on some form of voluntary segregation could be developed to provide basic structures where those features seen to operate successfully at Strelley could be adapted to provide, within a micro-cosmic situation, for the development and inculcation of an ideology and the development of leaders.

GRANDFATHER KOORI

Aboriginality, eh?

I don't care how hard it is. You build Aboriginality, boy, or you got nothing. There's no other choice to it. If our Aboriginal people cannot change how it is amongst themselves, then the Aboriginal people will never climb back out of hell.

(in Gilbert, 1977:304-305)

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction to the problem

Current theorizing underlying policy of Government agencies maintains that Aborigines must determine their own future.

The problem is that the theorizers, contexting their views within a framework of a multi-cultural Australia, cannot see what this future might be for Aboriginal people and hence exclude Aboriginal people in the conceptualization of Australia as a multi-cultural society.

At the same time urban Aboriginal people, taking up the challenge of determining their own future offered them in the seventies by Government policy, cannot see what an identity that is specifically Aboriginal looks like.

The object of this study is to clarify the components of the 'worlds' of meaning of Aboriginal people, including the 'worlds' of schooling/education, and to examine the possibility of structuring a specifically Aboriginal identity.

1.2 Genesis of the research

The problem for research was originally posed by the Director of the Aboriginal Community Centre, Adelaide.

In general terms, the issue was one of a concern about Aboriginal juvenile delinquency, about the apparent disproportion in the numbers of young Aboriginal people held in detention centres and prisons. There was a felt need to give meaning to this situation with the intention of changing it. In particular, the request was for research which would take into account the world of education in which young Aboriginal people are found.

While the request for research came from Aboriginal people themselves, it soon became apparent that in no sense do Aboriginal people form a monolithic group. It became necessary to 'legitimate' the request for research with different Aboriginal groups, Government agencies, institutions and individuals whose interests were not necessarily represented at the Aboriginal Community Centre.

During this legitimating process an attempt was made to establish parameters for the problem. For this purpose, use was made of Berger and Luckmann's notion of definers of a situation.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:134) state: "Reality is always socially defined. But the definitions are always embodied, that is, concrete individuals and groups of individuals serve as definers of reality".

In order to establish a nucleus of definers of reality, interviews were carried out with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people working in the field of Aboriginal education and welfare in Adelaide and Port Augusta.

On the advice of those initially consulted a further network of people to be consulted was established.[1] Interviews with these people led to a redefining of the problem.

1.21 Redefinition of the problem to be researched

As a result of the second phase of interviews, it became apparent that an examination of 'delinquency' as such could only lead to statements in negative terms which would further confirm the negative identity internalised by many Aborigines. It became evident that the problem was not simply one of delinquency, but

---

[1]See Appendix 1 for a list of categories of those consulted.

rather a sense of a lack of success of Aboriginal youth compared with the achievements of youth in non-Aboriginal society.

It seemed more profitable to all consulted to redefine the problem (which began as one of delinquency) in terms of success. Preliminary discussions were redirected to surveying views of success in the Aboriginal world and seeking to establish the components of success rather than concentrating on the delinquent individuals in the Aboriginal population.

However, following this interim redefinition of the problem as one of 'achieving success', a basic concern of Aboriginal people emerged, namely the problem of building an Aboriginal identity.

1.22 Components of 'success' in the Aboriginal 'world'

Issues which arose in the interviews showed that, while 'success' was defined differently, there were components agreed on by a large proportion of those interviewed, namely that:

1. 'Success' was associated with 'strong-mindedness'. (The phrase used again and again was, 'You have to be strong in the head'). Strong-mindedness in turn was seen as based in a clear sense of identity, with the desire to trace a connection, however tenuous, with tribal origins. 'Strong-mindedness' incorporated a generalized notion of being able to cope with life, to survive, not to give in to despair.

2. 'Success' was associated with structures provided by

   religious beliefs
   tribal identity allied with a religious belief
   maintenance of family structures.

3. A lack of 'success' was attributed to a lack of structures, to a situation of anomie often designated as 'death'. "They're dead", "They're broken people" were common expressions indicating persons believed to be in a state of anomie, socialized into non-identity.

4. There was the suggestion by some that success could be associated with

   influential women
   influential men
   influential teachers

   that is, with models offering particular identities.

The importance of the Aboriginal community *solving its own problems* that is, of exercising autonomy, was stressed by the Aboriginal people.

1.23 Aboriginal identity

All these issues were seen by those interviewed as allied in some way to the construction of an *Aboriginal identity*.

The concern of Aboriginal people about identity and the place they see it holding in the construction of a stable social structure for them is well expressed by Mrs. Glad Elphick, an elderly Aboriginal lady brought up on a reserve:

> ...The question of Aboriginal identity has emerged as a crucial issue.
>
> ...Aborigines are members of a subcultural group that is often subject to hostile prejudice and rejection by people in the wider society - by non-Aborigines. This leads to confusion and conflict over their identity. It is felt that the disturbance of the identification process among many Aborigines results in personality difficulties, and that many problems (for example, those relevant to liquor-drinking and to unemployment) are symptomatic of this, helping to build up a picture of instability, inconsistency and insecurity which is too often associated with people of Aboriginal descent (Elphick, 1971:104-105).

In Auntie Glad's words, the crucial issue was the question of Aboriginal identity. The 'problem' had become clear. It was one of identity-formation for Aboriginal people.

The question now to be asked was whether or not previous research had addressed this problem. In the remainder of this chapter, research relating to Aboriginal identity will be examined seeking insights for the further refining of the problem to be addressed.

1.3 Review of research literature touching on Aboriginal identity

1.31 Anthropology

In the anthropological literature (for example, Elkin, 1932a, 1932b, 1953, 1959a, 1959b, 1960; C.H. Berndt, 1961; R.M. Berndt, 1959, 1961, 1972, 1973, 1981; Chase, 1980; Fink, 1955; Tonkinson, 1974) references to identity relate to identity maintenance by tradition-oriented Aboriginal people in the face of change.

By and large these studies are of change, rather than identity. Chase (1980), for example, in one of the most recent studies, compared the roles of 'tradition' and 'identity' in the social dynamics of modern tradition-orientated Aboriginal communities. Berry (1970) and Watts (1976) found great diversity among tradition-oriented Aboriginal people in their identification as Aborigines/ Australians/having a dual identity.

Eckermann (1973) took up and tested some of the propositions held by earlier anthropologists on Aboriginal value orientations and group identification and found (1973:470) that "the kind of picture Europeans have of the minority seems to be closely allied to popular stereotypes as well as patterns people believe to be 'traditionally' Aboriginal".

Berndt (1977), and Kolig (1977), emphasized differences between tradition-oriented and urban Aborigines. Kolig discussed the action of external forces in defining and prescribing identity for Aborigines and the redefinition of the concept of physical likeness rather than cultural ethnocentrism as the focus for identity.

1.32 Psychology

In general, studies of Aboriginal people based in the discipline of psychology date from the sixties. They include studies of intelligence (de Lacey, 1971; Kearney, 1966; McElwain, 1969), concept development (de Lemos, 1969; Seagrim, 1971), language (Douglas, 1968; Nurcombe and Moffitt, 1970; Teasdale and Katz, 1968), attitudes

(Dawson, 1969; Gault, 1969), motivation (Duncan, 1969; Milliken, 1969).

Such studies sought to make cross-cultural comparisons. A few investigators examined the psychological correlates of identity/identification (Berry, 1970; Cawte, Bianchi and Kiloh, 1968; Nurcombe and Cawte, 1967). However, the issues raised by these researchers concerned problems of psychological adjustment to white society rather than the construction of Aboriginal identity.

1.33 Sociology

Non tradition-oriented people were the subject of Barwick's (1963) study, 'Regional affiliation and group identity among Aboriginal migrants in Melbourne', which traced the connection of urban Aboriginal people with kinship groupings.

Gale's 1964 study was concerned with assimilation. In her later study (1972:46) there was an allusion to identity and to the fact that Aborigines had developed a consciousness of their own separate identity.

Barwick and Gale were both pioneers in this field, isolating the issue of identity which was to become central to Aboriginal concerns in the late seventies and both arguing that part-Aboriginal society had a structure that differentiated it from white society - that is, part Aboriginal society cannot be said to form a sub-culture but has a distinct world of meaning of its own.

1.34 Sociology/Education

In the field of education, research reports from Dunn and Tatz, (1969); Hart, (1974); Kearney, et.al., (1976); Lippmann, (1973a); Penny, (1964, 1975). were directed towards teachers, or teacher-educators.

Sommerlad (1976) stressed the need in policy-making in education to take into account the life-styles of tradition-oriented

Aborigines. Her study was concerned with identity-maintenance. Sommerlad (1976:1) describes it as "a commentary on education as an agent of social change that fails to enhance self-identity and potential for growth and development and abandons its learners in a state of confusion and self-doubt".

Binnion and Lunnay (1974) held a discussion with Aboriginal high school students as part of an action research project. Among the issues emphasized as problem areas was the perception of the Aboriginal students that they did not feel they were 'people', they lacked an identity and were made to feel they had nothing to offer.

On the question of ethnic identification Sommerlad (1976) found the tradition-oriented children expressed a positive evaluation of whites, of Aborigines, and of self; higher valuations were assigned to whites and self than to Aborigines. The small proportion of students (12.9%) identifying with whites had high aspirations, achievement related value orientations and high acculturation scores. Watts (1976), in a study on ethnic identification in schools, found that 52 per cent of 900 children surveyed indicated that they preferred to identify themselves as Aboriginal and Australian, 22 per cent as Aboriginal, and 19 per cent as Australian.

1.35 Social Psychology
Attitudes to Schools

McKeich (1971) found that, in their attitudes to school, in general the Aboriginal children were more negative than the non-Aboriginal students. De Lemos (1979), however, found no difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children in their attitude to school.

1.36 Watt's overview of research relating to Aboriginal identity

Watts (1982:Volume 1, 127), in an overview of research directed to the education of Aborigines, discussed Aboriginal identity and noted "the increasing emphasis by many non-tradition

oriented Aborigines on their Aboriginality as a positive and valued characteristic; some, moreover, emphasize pan-Aboriginality seeing all people of Aboriginal descent, whatever their socio-cultural circumstances, as sharing an Aboriginal identity".

Watts emphasized the role of Aboriginal organisations as agents affirming Aboriginal identity, and noted that

> The emerging Aboriginal literature also sustains the search for an affirmation of Aboriginal identity (1982, 1:131).

1.37 Summary of research findings

Current research literature in anthropology, if it touches at all on identity, is centred on change taking place in the structures of tradition-oriented people.

Research literature in psychology seeks either to provide data on motivation, concept formation, etc., which parallels that of 'European' studies, or has a 'mental health' approach to the problems of assimilation.

Both currents of thought may be seen to be broadly assimilationist, that is, to accept a context in which Aboriginal identity is absorbed, rather than maintained or constructed.

There is a dearth of sociological literature, but the small amount that exists points to the growing consciousness of a separate identity, the need to develop and confirm this, and the need to examine the structures of schooling as one context within which identity is developed.

It is the Aboriginal people themselves who highlight a consciousness of loss of identity and the need for the *construction* of an Aboriginal identity. Research literature, by its nature, is contexted into a white framework. The Aboriginal voice comes from the Aboriginal reality and it focusses on identity construction.

1.38 The Aboriginal voice: the social construction of identity

Rowley (1971:384) points out that, since the sixties

> The Aboriginal voice is now continuous. One theme has been continuously repeated - that the Aboriginal does not want to lose his Aboriginal identity.

The Aboriginal perceives the problem of loss of identity. However, the analysis by Aboriginal people of this problem goes further than that of white researchers.

In personal statements made by Aboriginal people themselves, there is a constant emphasis on the notion of the *construction* of an Aboriginal identity, (Elphick, 1971; Gilbert, 1973, 1977; Perkins, 1975). Stewart (1976:26) speaks of "embarking upon a long, difficult and in some cases a traumatic journey to establish our identities".

Anderson (in Tatz, 1975:19) projects a time when "Aboriginal people and Aboriginal teenagers [will] start grabbing hold of their identity themselves".

The notion of the construction of Aboriginal identity recurs again and again in speeches and articles by Aborigines. It is forcefully expressed by Grandfather Koori (in Gilbert, 1977:304-305).

> Aboriginality, eh!
> You build Aboriginality boy, or you got nothing!

1.39 The problem defined: the construction of Aboriginal identity

It is this felt need of seeking to establish components of Aboriginal identity and to delineate the processes of 'establishing identity', 'grabbing hold of identity', 'building identity' which will be taken up by the present study. It will focus on the social construction (actual and possible) of Aboriginal identity, particularly with reference to educational contexts.

Sociological theory concerned with the construction of identity is seen as appropriately located within the sub-discipline of the sociology of knowledge.

An outline of this approach is presented in the following chapter, Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

IDENTITY AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY: THE THEORY

2.1 The sociology of knowledge: brief history of development

Within the discipline of sociology the social construction of identity is rooted theoretically in the sociology of knowledge. A short account of the development of this area of theory is necessary before an adaptation of the general theory is made for the present study.

The beginnings of the sociology of knowledge may be found in Marx's writings on ideology, specifically in the first chapter of the German Ideology (Marx/Engels, Arthur, ed., 1970:41).

Marx introduced a new apprehension of man[1] that was sociological rather than philosophical -

> The Young-Hegelian ideologists, in spite of their allegedly 'world shattering' statements, are the staunchest conservatives. The most recent of them have found the correct expression for their activities when they declare they are only fighting against 'phrases'. They forget, however, that to these phrases they themselves are only opposing other phrases and that they are in no way combating the phrases of this world.
>
> It has not occurred to any one of these philosophers to inquire into the connection of German philosophy with German reality, the relation of their criticism to their own material surroundings.

Hence the radical nature of Marx's new approach was to go back to man as the root, not philosophy (Marx/Engels, Arthur, ed., 1970:47).

> We set out from real, active man, and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process.

According to Marx, "life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life".

---

[1]Man is used in a generic sense throughout this text. 'Man' (mankind) includes 'woman', 'he' includes 'she' throughout.

Marx gave the direction for the study of the *social* base of consciousness.

> Consciousness is, therefore from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all (Marx/Engels, Arthur, ed., 1970:51).

This is the kernel of the sociology of knowledge, that all consciousness is a social product, all ideas are social products.

For Marx, the empirical study of social circumstances would make possible the revelation of the distortions of consciousness arising from the social circumstances in which man was placed. Such analysis had as its goal an intervention in society in order to change it.

Thus while Marx saw man's consciousness as the product of his social circumstances, man's consciousness was not 'determined' in a mechanical way. Man was seen as an active agent. It was the mark of man that he could reflect critically on his reality and intervene in that reality and change it.

> The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by man and that it is essential to educate the educator himself (Thesis on Feuerbach. Thesis III).
>
> The philosophers have only <u>interpreted</u> the world in various ways, the point is to change it (Thesis XI) (Marx/Engels, Arthur, ed., 1970:122-123).

Thus while Marx sees man born into a set of social circumstances that form a framework within which he develops his consciousness, in turn man can act back on these social circumstances and change them.

> Society makes man. But man also makes society.

A second strand to Marx's thinking on ideology is that ideologies encapsulate and legitimate the ideas of the dominant classes.

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e.,the class which is the material force of society, is at the time its ruling intellectual force (Marx/Engels, Arthur, ed., 1970:64).

Mannheim (1936:238-9) built on Marx's insight. His grappling with the problem of ideology led him to make a distinction between ideology and the sociology of knowledge.

The study of ideology was categorised by Mannheim (1936:238) as an attempt

> ...to unmask more or less conscious deceptions and disguises of human groups.

The sociology of knowledge, on the other hand, involved a wider study, namely

> the subject's whole mode of conceiving things as determined by his historical and social setting (Mannheim, 1936:239).

All knowledge, not merely distortions, was seen by Mannheim as socially contexted and therefore the object of study within the sociology of knowledge.

Stark (1958:9,12) developed the theory of the sociology of knowledge a step further. He asserted that

> Cultural phenomena are interconnected with social ones and fully understandable only if they are seen within this nexus .

> The individual himself cannot be understood unless he be seen in his social setting, in the living interplay of his self with other selves .

Thus we now have sociology of knowledge applied not only to ideas, but to all cultural phenomena.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) build on this tradition.

For them the sociology of ideas (including ideology) is important, but no less important is the sociology of *being*, the sociology of everyday life.

> The sociology of knowledge must concern itself with everything that passes for 'knowledge' in society (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:26, 27).

The sociology of everyday life, of what is held to be knowledge, not by intellectuals, but by everyman, in everyday life *about* everyday life was for Berger and Luckmann the central focus for the sociology of knowledge.

Not only knowledge, but society itself, and the individual's location in society (that is, his identity), must be studied as socially structured. The sociology of knowledge for them was concerned with the social construction of reality.

The link with the early theory of Marx is manifest. Man is born into a society that exists over and against man and 'determines' his consciousness initially. But that society was made by man. Hence it can be transformed, modified.

> Identity is a key element of subjective reality and, like all subjective reality, stands in dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity are determined by the social structures. Conversely, the identities produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and social structure react upon the given social structure, maintaining it, modifying it, or even reshaping it (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:194).

Society makes man.

Man makes society.

The point of sociological analysis is not only to *interpret* society as the German philosophers did, but to understand and explain it, in order to change it.

2.2 Identity as a problem in the sociology of knowledge

Theoretical literature specifically on identity within the sociology of knowledge approach is to be found in the writing of

Berger and Luckmann, referred to above, and in an essay by Berger (1971) setting out a possible framework for the sociology of knowledge, and in the writings of Sorokin (1947) on group identity.

Berger (1971:97) in his paper, Identity as a Problem in the Sociology of Knowledge sets out to interpret the sociology of knowledge

> as the sociological critique of consciousness concerning itself with the social construction of reality in general. Such a critique entails the analysis of both 'objective reality' (that is, 'knowledge' about the world as objectivated and taken for granted in society) and its subjective correlates (that is, the modes in which this objectivated world is subjectively plausible or real to the individual).

His thesis is that

> The sphere of psychological phenomena is continuously permeated by social forces and more than that, is decisively shaped by the latter.

Identity, sociologically speaking, is always identity within a specific 'world' of meaning that is socially constructed. Indeed it is the location in a common world that is the key to the definition of identity.

> One identifies oneself, as one is identified by others, by being located in a common world (Berger, 1971:97).

Location in a world involves also location within a particular psychological model.

> Such a 'model' is part of the society's general knowledge about the world raised to the level of theorizing (1971:98).

As an illustration one could cite the fact that for tradition-oriented Aborigines such a psychological model of the 'world' is based on the Law. Theorizing about the 'world' encapsulates theorizing about the Law and makes possible a certain psychological reality.

The Aboriginal people in voicing the need to 'grab' identity, to 'build' identity, instinctively context themselves within the theoretical framework provided by the sociology of knowledge.

The society into which they are born is a social construct. Identity is a social construct.

The need is to map the 'world' of meaning in which Aborigines are situated, to contribute to their understanding of this world of meaning in order that they may intervene in this reality to construct an Aboriginal identity.

This is the object of this study.

The Aboriginal world of meaning, however, must be seen in its relationship to the dominant group.

Aborigines are members both of an ethnic group and racial group.

The implications of membership of these groups will now be examined.

2.3 Typologies of ethnic and racial groups

2.31 Ethnicity and identity

Barth (1969:10, 11) examines the accepted definitions of the term 'ethnic group', generally understood in anthropological literature to designate a population which

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Barth finds such definitions incomplete and indeed preventing the understanding of the way ethnic groups are maintained.

He believes (1969:11) that the sharing of a common culture can be regarded

> ...as an implication or result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnic group organization.

Barth (1969:14) discusses the problem of classifying groups by their participation in 'cultural features' of a group and points out that

> the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Not only do ecological variations mark and exaggerate differences: some cultural features are used by the actors as symbols and emblems of differences, others are ignored and in some relationships, radical differences are played down and denied.

Barth proposes item 4 (above) as providing a more useful definition to study ethnicity. The emphasis is then on ethnic groups as a form of social organization, and the membership of the group is seen more clearly.

> To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense (Barth, 1969:13).

By defining an ethnic group as an ascriptive and exclusive group, the nature of the group is seen to depend on the maintenance of boundaries.

> The cultural features that signal the boundary may change and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed even the organizational form of the group may change. Yet the continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity and investigate the changing cultural form and context (Barth, 1969:14).

Isajiw (1974:122) further clarifies the notion of boundary.

> Ethnicity is the result of a double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without established by the process of intergroup relations ... the basic differences lies in the external boundaries. It is not so much a matter of faster or slower assimilation or non-assimilation. More significantly it is a matter of how the various ethnic groups are perceived and identified by the power-holding, policy-making and influence-exerting bodies of the two societies.

2.32 Race and identity

Race is defined (Reading, 1977:168) as a class of population based on *genetic* criteria.

McConnochie (1973:5-6) distinguishes between the cultural definition. of race (which he suggests is more appropriately a definition of ethnicity), and biological definitions based on genetic criteria and social definitions of race.

Banton and Harwood (1975) show that modern popular use of race is one not referring to genetic characteristics, used in a scientific sense, but rather is a concept encapsulating beliefs about race used by relatively powerful groups to exclude or demarcate others.

McConnochie (1973:6) notes

> For the purpose of most social scientists concerned with race relations, the term 'race' is used to refer to groups which are classified by a referent group as belonging to some out - group, characterised by ethnic or cultural uniqueness and perceived biological traits. This usage does not presume the reality of either of these sets of traits but rather the reality of the reference group's perceptions.

Thus, as with concept of ethnic identity, racial identity also may be seen within the context of boundary maintenance, and may be seen as a social construct.

In everyday usage, identification within a racial group is the result of identification by others. In this definition of race, there is associated the complementary notions of 'racism' and 'racialism' - the former according to Encel (Stevens, 1972:1) referring to an *ideology* of race prejudice, the latter to the *practice* of discrimination and repression.

The World Council of Churches and UNESCO (Stevens, 1972:1) use a definition of racism in which they emphasize both biological differences and the objective of the exclusion of one group by another on these grounds.

Gordon (1961:283) asserts that there are no 'logical', ideological reasons for the separate communality of negroes as a group:

> Dual social structures are created solely by the dynamics of prejudice and discrimination, rather than being reinforced by the ideological commitments of the minority itself .

Yinger (1961:254), in quoting Herzl, describes a situation where the boundary from without is seen as a basis for the establishment of the identity of Jewish people. "We are a people - the enemy has made us a people". Such exclusion is an example of the formation of a group by the imposition of boundaries from without by a dominant group which uses such boundaries as a means of preserving its own universe of meaning.

In the case both of ethnicity and race, the notion of boundaries is enlightened by theory from within the sociology of knowledge. Among forms of conceptual machinery used for the construction and maintenance of such boundaries are those of nihilation and therapy.

2.4 Nihilation/therapy as conceptual machinery maintaining a universe of meaning

Berger and Luckmann (1966:122-134) discuss the problems of maintaining a particular universe of meaning. Such maintenance has to deal continuously with the socialization of individuals, which may be more or less successful.

The maintenance of the universe of meaning becomes a *problem* when deviant versions are held not only by individuals but by groups. Berger and Luckmann point out that various forms of repression may then result. Most importantly, however, such repression must be legitimated theoretically in order to maintain the universe of meaning.

Historically, examples of such legitimation are seen in theological writings to combat heresy (and support the repression of heretics).

However the case is more serious when the threat arises not *within* the one symbolic universe (as with heresy in the Christian Church), but when the threat arises from an alternative universe of meaning with its roots in a different historical evolution. Measures must then be taken by the dominant group to preserve its own symbolic universe.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:127) discuss some of the types of conceptual machinery used to systematize normative and cognitive legitimations - namely mythology, theology, philosophy and science. Some form of conceptual machinery is necessary in order to maintain these overall systematizations. Berger and Luckmann discuss the conceptual machinery of nihilation and therapy.

Therapy entails processes directed towards keeping deviants *within* the universe of meaning. Examples are available from those schools of psychiatric treatment and of classroom practice which are aimed at 'adjusting' the individual to society. Therapy is employed to return the deviant individual to the norms of the mainstream group.

Nihilation acts in the opposite way and is brought into play to protect a universe of meaning by liquidating *conceptually* all alternative systematizations of meaning.

> Legitimation maintains the reality of the socially constructed universe. Nihilation denies the reality of whatever phenomena or interpretations of phenomena do not fit into that universe (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:132).

Such conceptual nihilation may or may not be followed by physical nihilation (as for example in the Inquisition, if one keeps to the theological example) depending upon policies and the strength of the power base of the dominant group.

2.5 Framework of the study

Within the framework of the sociology of knowledge, the present study will set out to delineate 'objective reality', 'knowledge' about the world in which Aborigines are located in so far as this knowledge is objectivated and taken for granted both by Aborigines and non-Aborigines.

The study will seek to trace the subjective correlates, that is, the modes in which the objectivated world of Aboriginal identity is subjectively plausible or real to the individuals so that this reality permits them to build a coherent identity.

In order to systematize the study, it will be related, theoretically, to the following areas:

(1) Interaction between psychological reality and psychological models - the model being part of "society's general 'knowledge about the world' raised to the level of theoretical thought" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:98).

(2) The interaction between social structure and the worlds in which Aboriginal people find their identity. The particular 'world' of education will be singled out for special study.

(3) The interaction between the self and society, between social structure and psychological reality.

These three areas for investigation will be described in detail in Chapter IV, together with research questions and hypotheses generated from each area.

Chapter III will now address the components of individual and group identity which will provide the concepts to be used in articulating a methodology to study the structuring of Aboriginal identity.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPONENTS OF GROUP IDENTITY AND TYPOLOGIES OF INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

Berger pointed out that

> ...the sociological critique of consciousness concerns itself with the social construction of reality in general, and, as such, entails the analysis of both 'objective reality' (that is, knowledge about the world as objectivated and taken for granted in society) and its subjective correlates (that is, the modes in which this objectivated world is subjectively plausible or real to the individual) (Berger, 1971:97).

The 'objective' reality of the Aboriginal world will be examined (Chapters XII-XVI) using Sorokin's (1947) analysis of the components of groups and group membership.

The 'subjective correlates' will then be examined using Erikson's typologies of identity.

The relevant sections of the work of Sorokin and Erikson will now be summarised, and the concepts to be used in the study extracted.

3.1 Components of group identity (Sorokin)

From within the discipline of the sociology of knowledge Sorokin outlined the components of group identity, under the following headings:

Membership

Mobility

Characteristics of group identity (causal - meaningful bonds, autonomy)

Factors of continuity

Role of members of the group

Destruction of the group

Sorokin's analysis of each of these areas will be briefly summarized, with special reference to those issues of import to Aboriginal identity.

3.11 Membership

Sorokin (1947:401) discussed at length the two ways of attaining group membership:

(1) automatic : inherited

(2) non-automatic : voluntary acceptance of membership/ appointment/election/employment/coercion

Sorokin pointed out that, other conditions being equal, groups in which membership entails advantages and privileges tend to remain closed to all except the specified limited number of individuals that meet their qualifications.

Groups in which membership entails burdens tend to remain open to all who wish to join them.

Membership of a group may be due to some form of coercion.

Sorokin (1947:304) maintained that

> It is a one-sided theory that holds the membership of all groups is recruited only through a willing purposive association of individuals.

3.12 Mobility of membership between groups

Sorokin (1947) discussed those factors which are not social products, and which therefore prevent mobility of membership between groups. He noted that we cannot speak of the mobility of individuals among inter-racial, intersexual and interage 'plurels'. A negro, for example, cannot become a white man.

3.13 Characteristics of group identity

Sorokin (1947:155) stresses the importance for the social construction of the group, and the maintenance of its identity of 'causal - meaningful bonds'. It is these bonds, and the exercise of autonomy, which differentiate a group from a congerie or agglomeration. Sorokin analyses the concept of causal-meaningful bonds in the following way:

> (i) Causal-meaningful bonds
>
> Having no causal ties between them, the members of incidental congeries have no inner force controlling their functions and giving them a margin of freedom from all external forces.
>
> The causal-meaningful system has its own self-directing force that keeps its unified integrity in different conditions, that controls its functions, that determines (from within) the direction and the character of its change, and gives to it a margin of autonomy from all external forces that try to disrupt its unity, influence its functions and condition its change .

A causal-meaningful system presupposes the exercise of autonomy. It is only in those circumstances that a group can maintain identity and integrity in the face of external forces. Sorokin analyses autonomy in the following way.:

> (ii) Autonomy
>
> ·An organism as a biological system from the moment of its emergence ... controls its own destiny in the most decisive way. It has a considerable margin of autonomy from all forces external to it.
>
> This is also true of an organised socio-cultural group. From the moment of its emergence in accordance with its main functions whether they be political, scientific, economic, religious, criminal ... it always has a margin of autonomy from external forces. In widely different milieus, conditions and situations, it keeps its own identity and integrity. In all these aspects it is an immanent self-regulating and self-determining system ... inner cohesion, preservation of its integrity, self-determination of its function and change, margin of autonomy is due to the fact that the organized group is a causal-functional and meaningful unity, in contrast to a mere spatial conglomeration of things dumped together.

Sorokin (1947:381) categorises the elements essential to allow for continuity in the social construction of group identity. He divided these into inherent factors and external factors.

3.14 Factors of continuity

(i) Inherent factors

Sorokin gives the following factors for continuity

(a) The fairly wide margin of potential variations and unfolded implications which any meaning, value or norm possesses without sacrificing its identity

(b) Selectivity in adopting certain new elements that do not destroy the identity of the group and in rejecting those elements that are uncongenial to it.

(c) The development of symbols and basic rules of the group

(ii) External factors

Sorokin (1947:383) categorises the following elements as providing continuity:

(a) The component of the vehicles of the group (including property and material possessions) language, territory
For groups that are localized on a certain continuous territory, the *territory itself* plays such a role.

(b) The component of members of the group

(c) The identity of the component of meanings and of the group is perpetuated also by other groups with which the given group interacts

Thus the ability of the group to perpetuate itself is seen by Sorokin to lie in the possibilities of adaptation, but an adaptation that is selective in that new elements adopted are compatible with the identity of the group and the rejection of certain traditional elements does not lead to the destruction of group identity.

Groups find identity in outward symbols and possessions that mark off the group as well as in norms developed by the group.

Finally, the identity of the group is strengthened by the group interacting qua group, with others.

The members of the groups have certain roles to play in the construction and perpetuation of the group, namely those of indoctrinating others, socializing them into the group and developing mutual loyalty.

3.14 (iii) Role of members of the group

(a) Indoctrination

According to Sorokin, an uninterrupted inculcation of meanings, values and norms in the members of the groups by every method of indoctrination is of the first importance. This is especially true of the leaders.

Indoctrination is seen as especially important with regard to the Law - norms of the group.

(b) Mutual loyalty

The development of mutual sympathy, loyalty, devotion, a sense of oneness among the members of the group is a second fundamental factor perpetuating its identity and continuity.

Sorokin sees two factors operating *against* the continuity of a group, and acting to bring about its destruction, namely lack of morale, and the size of the group.

3.15 <u>Destruction of the group</u>

(i) Lack of morale

Sorokin sees morale as essential to the permanence of a group.

Where this is lacking the group will exhaust itself in internal conflicts.

(ii) Size

Sorokin asserts that each group has an optimum size.

Having grown beyond the point of their optimum size, groups are generally the forces of self-destruction rather than of continuity and self-preservation.

3.16 Summary of the components of group identity

Membership may be either inherited or assumed, but mobility from one group to another is prevented if it is determined by non-social factors which cannot be changed.

Autonomy is an essential characteristic of a group. A group, as such, is differentiated from a spatial agglomeration or congerie by causal-meaningful bonds and the exercise of autonomy.

The continuity of the group depends upon its ability to subsume variations, selectively adopt new elements, and indoctrinate its members with the 'theorizing' of the group.

The inner adhesion of the group is objectified by external symbols, possessions.

Group loyalty and size are factors cementing the group.

The 'theorizing' of the group is objectivated not only within the group, but through interaction with other groups.

3.2 Typologies of individual identity - the subjective appropriation of psychological reality (Erikson)

Berger (1971:97) sees identity, that is, location of the self within a specific social world, producing 'attachments' of psychological reality that are the product of this particular location in a world of meaning.

However, whether the individual is within a mainstream social group, or a 'deviant' group (such as an ethnic group or racial group)

Berger supposes that there is a more or less satisfactory socialization of individuals. For Berger

> ...identities are internalized. They are not only taken for granted as constituents of an objective reality out there but as inevitable structures of the individual's own consciousness. The objective reality, as defined by society is subjectively appropriated. In other words socialization brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity. He knows who he is, he feels accordingly. He can conduct himself 'spontaneously' because the firmly internalized cognitive and emotive structure makes it unnecessary or even impossible for him to reflect upon alternative possibilities of conduct (Berger 1971:96).

This supposition appears to be incomplete. Where there is a cultural disintegration, there may also be a disintegration of identity.

Erikson's writings (1946, 1956, 1959, 1966, 1971, 1977), from the field of psychology, provide a further analysis of typologies of identity. Erikson supports the emphasis coming from the discipline of sociology on the social construction of identity.

However his analysis of typologies of identity permits a clearer understanding of the particular identities offered to Aboriginal people than does Berger's limited proposition that socialization brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity.

Erikson gives the following typologies of identity:

Ego-identity

Negative identity

Identity-diffusion

3.21 Ego-identity

Erikson points out the need for a sense of continuity of identity. Ego-identity is the sense of maintaining an inner sameness and continuity that is also recognised by others. Erikson maintains that adolescents are primarily concerned with consolidating social roles - sometimes being

> ...morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others compared with what they feel they are. The sense of ego-identity is the accrued confidence that one's own ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity, one's ego, in a psychological sense, is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others (Erikson, 1959:89)

Ego identity is thus not an individual process. It depends upon recognition by others. An individual locates himself in a community.

Erikson (1966:148) sees identity as a continuing process of growth into mature years, a process that presupposes a community:

> Identity is a matter of growth, both personal and communal. For a mature psychological identity presupposes a community of people whose traditional values have become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them.

Personal identity is in accord with *group* identity. Erikson (1977.212) holds that

> ...the growing child must derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experiences (his ego-synthesis) is a successful variance of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life plan.

The young person looks for continuity of regard, but for this he needs continuity in his own life. De Levita, developing Erikson's approach, characterises this maintenance of inner sameness and continuity, and its recognition by others as <u>functional constancy</u>.

> My feeling of being the same is the consciousness of standing in relation always to the same world.
>
> I am the same because my name, address, profession. are the same (de Levita, 1965:58).

This sense of continuity and sameness for the individual is secured by *identials*, just as the continuity of the group was seen by Sorokin to rest upon external symbols and external vehicles (possessions) that characterize the group.

3.21

(i) Identials

Identials are objective attributes through which individuals are able to locate themselves or are located by others within a 'world'.

> The most important of all identials is the body. It appears as an idential in the personal description: nicknames such as 'limpy', 'redhead' stamp a person's identity as being a physical one.
>
> The importance of being seen by another is deeply rooted in psychology. The shame which this being seen can arouse in man is expressed in a preformed physiological mechanism (de Levita, 1965:169).

Other 'identials' consist in the individual's name, his life history, his possessions, all of which locate him in a 'world'. However, such location in a world may in fact be location into a negative world of meaning.

In this case, the individual will see himself located in society by means of negative identials.

3.22 Negative Identity

Erikson supports Berger's approach in so far as he posits that the individual's way of mastering experience should be congruent with patterns occurring in social reality and must be rooted in real accomplishment that has a meaning in culture. However, the congruence may produce an identity with negative, rather than positive attributes.

Erikson points out that individuals may be socialized into a negative identity.

In this case, there *is* symmetry between objective and subjective reality. Socialization has taken place, but it is socialization into a negative identity.

The concept of negative identity has particular implications for the study of Aboriginal identity.

Negative identity is defined by Erikson as

> ... an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to the individual as most undesirable and dangerous and yet also as most real (Erikson, 1959:131).

3.23 Identity-diffusion

Erikson points out that individuals may be so confused by the competing 'worlds' of meaning that they are unable to establish a stable identity. They are unable to locate themselves satisfactorily within any one world of meaning.

Identity diffusion is, according to Erikson (1956:77),

> ...a syndrome of disturbances in young people who cannot make use of the institutionalized moratorium provided in their society - they are unable to establish an identity.

Erikson gives the following schema showing the characteristics of ego-identity and identity-diffusion.

ego-identity	ego-diffusion
basic trust	basic mistrust
an attitude to oneself and the world derived from the experience of the first year of life. This implies a prediction of the behaviour of others and permits deferral of gratification. Trust allows generalization.	accompanied by withdrawal, need for immediate gratification.
autonomy and pride	lack of autonomy/shame
arising from a sense of self control.	Erikson states that there is a limit to the shame a child or adult can stand. Once this limit is exceeded, secret oblivion to the opinions of others may result. Erikson remarks this is the make up of many a young criminal.
initiative	guilt
industry	inferiority

(Erikson, 1959, 1977).

De Levita, (1965:170) has given an exhaustive analysis of the subjective correlates of identity-diffusion. These will be used as a basis for gathering empirical data, and hence will be given in detail here.

(d) Subjective correlates of identity-diffusion (de Levita, 1965:170)

Identity-diffusion is marked by

distrust
(with a need for immediate gratification)
lack of autonomy - shame
guilt
feeling of being a non-person
expectation of rejection
strain towards delinquency
strain towards withdrawal

Where there is identity-diffusion there is

* a painfully heightened sense of isolation
* a feeling of disintegration of sense of inner continuity and sameness
* an overall sense of being ashamed
* an inability to derive a sense of accomplishment from any kind of activity
* a feeling that life is happening to the individual rather than being lived on his initiative
* experiencing an engagement to others as loss of identity
* a wishing that parents had been different
* a radically shortened time perspective
* a basic mistrust which leaves it to the world, society and indeed psychiatry to prove (to the person) that he does exist in a psycho-social sense
* despair.

De Levita and Erikson agree that where there is an experience of identity-diffusion, the orientation is towards deviance. That is, where there is the threat of identity-diffusion, negative identity is embraced as the only way of achieving ego-identity.

De Levita (1965:31) asserts that:

> It is easier to derive a sense of identity from a total identification with what one is least supposed to be than to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are unobtainable with the (person's) inner means.
>
> Many a late adolescent would, if faced with continuing identity-diffusion, rather be nobody or somebody bad, or even dead - and this totally and by free choice, than be not quite somebody.

It is posited also that many an Aborigine, would "if faced with continuing identity-diffusion, rather be nobody or somebody bad, or even dead, than be not quite somebody", and that, in point of fact, it is this desire to cease being 'not quite somebody' that is at the basis of their concern for structuring an Aboriginal identity.

3.24 Summary

Sorokin's analysis of factors of group identity will be used as a basis for constructing a framework to be used in the study of social structures in which Aboriginal people locate themselves (Area I of the study).

Erikson's typologies of identity will be used to study identities offered to Aboriginal people by mainstream society (Area III of the study).

In the next chapter, Chapter IV, research questions and hypotheses will be drawn from the three areas to which the research is related (p. 21 above).

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Berger and Luckmann's (1966) treatise on the sociology of knowledge, Berger's article (1971) on identity as a problem in the sociology of knowledge, Sorokin's (1947) analysis of group identity, Erikson's (1946, 1956, 1959, 1966, 1977) and de Levita's (1965) typologies of individual identity will be used to provide a framework for the study of Aboriginal identity within the context of a sociology of knowledge approach.

4.1 Definition of identity

The following definition of identity is proposed:

Identity is defined as location of the self in a particular world of meaning, both by the self and others.

It is a product of interactions between individuals and social structures, and individuals and others. Through this location of the self, individuals recognise their self-sameness and continuity in time and perceive that others recognise their self-sameness and continuity.

4.2 Aboriginal identity in the sociology of knowledge

Studies of Aborigines referred to above (p. 5-9) suffer from the fact that, being contexted in a climate where assimilation was held to be the solution to the 'Aboriginal Problem', the assumptions underlying research projects were almost entirely assimilationist.

The sociology of knowledge provides a structure giving a different approach. Rather than taking a problem posed, (in this case a white problem of assimilation of Aborigines into white society) and analysing it, the issue became one of 'making' a problem of what it is, questioning the assumptions underlying the reality to be studied, seeking to discover how and why the

situation came into being, bringing different perspectives to bear on the situation, charting the social construction of the particular reality, and laying bare the ideologies underlying this construction of reality for reaffirmation or rejection.

4.3 Areas for investigation

In accordance with this approach, the issues isolated for the study of the construction of Aboriginal identity will be organized into the three areas outlined above (p.21), namely:

(i) Interaction between psychological reality and psychological models

(ii) Interaction between social structure and the 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people find their identity

(iii) Interaction between the self and society.

The theory associated with each area is presented; from the theory a number of research questions and hypotheses are generated.

The theory informing each area, the research questions to be asked, and the hypotheses advanced are set out in the following section.

4.31 Area 1

(i) Identity and the theoretical level of consciousness - Theory

Aboriginal identity, like other identities, must be studied as located in a particular world.

Aboriginal people are born into 'an objective reality', that is, a world that is a 'given' which stands over against them, but with which they interact.

Such a world is the product of past as well as present interaction and hence requires a study of historical factors contributing to the present situation.

The 'world'[1] of Aboriginal individuals within which they locate themselves and find their psychological reality[2] is made credible, real, within a framework of theorizing. Theorizing enables this world to be presented as a coherent whole for scrutiny by others and at the same time objectivates the world as a 'reality' for actors themselves.

In order to study the psychological reality of identity, the question of *which reality* it is under discussion is addressed, *which psychological model* is being socially constructed and socially maintained, and *by which section of society* this model is constructed and maintained.

For Aboriginal people the psychological model may be the result either of mainstream theorizing or Aboriginal theorizing that is at variance with mainstream theorizing.

Theorizing is of significance since theorizing about a world of meaning once objectivated becomes reified. It is perceived as a 'given', a 'facticity' standing over and against the individual, and having power to act back on the individual and produce a psychological reality within which he may find identity.

Mead's self-fulfilling prophecy and Thomas' notion of how definitions of reality become real are formulations of this phenomenon. The acceptance of these formulations in everyday thinking is also an

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[1] 'World' is taken to mean "the comprehensive organizations of reality within which individual experience can be meaningfully interpreted" (Berger, 1971:96).

[2] 'Psychological reality' (Berger, 1971:95) refers to "the manner in which the individual apprehends himself, his processes of consciousness and his relation with others".

example of how knowledge that at one time was specialist knowledge, becomes 'sedimented' into the world of knowledge of everyman. Forms of theorizing may be classified as

(a) incipient
(b) rudimentary
(c) explicit.

4.31(i) (a) Incipient theorizing - language

'Theorizing', as the concept is used here, occurs at various levels. Berger and Luckmann (1966:110ff.) discuss the process of legitimation as a form of theorizing.

> Legitimation is best described as a 'second order' objectivation of meaning. Legitimation produces new meanings that serve to integrate the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes. The function of legitimation is to make objectively available and subjectively plausible the first order objectivations that have been institutionalized. The lowest form of legitimation is contained in, and transmitted through, language.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:122) call this incipient theorizing. C. Wright Mills (1972:441) refers to vocabularies of motives that canalize thought.

4.31(i) (b) Rudimentary forms of theorizing

Rudimentary forms of theorizing, according to Berger and Luckmann (1966:122), "are highly pragmatic explanatory schemes relating to concrete actions".

Such rudimentary forms of theorizing may be found in every day statements of belief, of 'recipe' knowledge (Schutz, 1971:72ff.).

4.31(i) (c) Explicit theories

Explicit theories characterize a third level of theorizing. The highest level of theorizing is found in the construction of a symbolic universe, the latter defined by Berger and Luckmann (1966:113) as

> ...bodies of theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the institutional order in a symbolic totality.

The identity of individuals is dependent upon their ability to locate themselves within such a symbolic universe, that is within a world of meaning wherein they recognize their self-sameness and continuity and perceive that others affirm this recognition. If the Aboriginal person wishes to locate himself in an Aboriginal world, then the legitimation of this world, at all the levels of theorizing, must make this world plausible to him, so that it offers a real possibility of identity, that is, location in a world of meaning that has characteristics that are specifically Aboriginal.

An additional factor is introduced in the case of Aboriginal identity, since Aboriginal people are a minority ethnic group.

The Aboriginal 'world' must therefore be studied, not in isolation but in relation to mainstream Australian society. An understanding of this 'objective reality' for Aboriginal people, that is, knowledge about the world as objectivated and taken for granted, therefore demands an understanding at the conceptual level of the machinery by which the world of Aboriginal society has been managed in the past, and is being managed in contemporary society by the dominant group, since identity is the location of the self not only by the self but also by others in a particular world.

4.31(ii) Conceptual machinery for the management of Aborigines as a group

(a) Nihilation/therapy

In this study, the world of Aboriginal people will be examined both as objective reality and also in the light of the

particular machineries of control exercised upon Aboriginal society by mainstream society to maintain order within the symbolic universe of mainstream society.

It has been suggested above (p. 20) that the conceptual mechanisms to be examined will be those of therapy and/or nihilation.

A further mechanism of control lies in the naming of a group.

A particular indication of the locus of control in a given society is the source of naming.

4.31(ii) (b) Naming

Naming locates individuals in a particular world - the world, for example, of a minority group or the mainstream group.

The power to 'name' may be seen as the power to bestow identity.

The importance attached to naming may be seen in the naming of migrant groups in Australia where there was a progression in naming from 'New Australians' to 'migrants' to 'ethnic groups', all showing a different policy towards minority groups, a different status accorded to them, and a change in the power structure of mainstream society vis-à-vis particular minority groups.

The two areas of

(1) theorizing about the 'world' of Aborigines
(2) conceptual machinery employed to manage the world of Aborigines

generated a series of research questions and hypotheses relating to

(1) mainstream theorizing about the Aboriginal world
(2) the conceptual mechanisms (including naming) used by mainstream society
(3) the theorizing of Aboriginal people.

The world of schooling/education will be singled out for particular attention. The research questions and hypotheses for Area I will now be presented.

AREA I: IDENTITY AND THE THEORETICAL LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS

4.31(iii) Research questions/hypotheses, Area I - theorizing about the world(s) of Aboriginal people

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1.1

Mainstream conceptualization of Aboriginal worlds in which mainstream society locates Aboriginal people

(a) Are there different models of Aboriginal worlds offered by government, and government agencies?

(b) How do governments/government agencies theorize about such worlds? What conceptual machinery is employed in relation to the construction and maintenance of these worlds?

HYPOTHESIS 1.1

It is hypothesized that there are not different models of Aboriginal worlds conceptualized by mainstream society, that the conceptual machinery of nihilation has been employed historically to locate Aboriginal people outside of mainstream society, and that the boundary formed to locate Aborigines as a group is a boundary from without.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1.2

Naming

(a) How are Aboriginal people named?

(b) By whom are they named?

(c) What are the implications of this naming for the location of Aboriginal people in society?

HYPOTHESIS 1.2

It is hypothesized that Aboriginal people will be seen to be named by the dominant mainstream society, that this naming will reveal a lack of Aboriginal autonomy and that the process of naming has created a situation disposing the people towards identity-diffusion.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1.3

Aboriginal Models of Aboriginal 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people locate themselves.

(a) Are there different models of Aboriginal worlds offered by Aboriginal people?

(b) How do they theorize about these worlds?

(c) Do the models differ according to different social circumstances?

(d) If the models do differ, are there objective differences supporting the theorizing about the models? What are the characteristics of the 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people locate themselves?

HYPOTHESIS 1.3

It is hypothesized that there will be different models of Aboriginal worlds, their structure reflecting different social contexts and varying according to the different degrees and ability to relate to tradition-oriented people.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1.4

The sub-structure of schooling/education

(a) In the world of schooling/education how do reality definers, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, theorize about schooling for Aboriginal people?

(b) How do students theorize about the 'world' of education?

HYPOTHESES 1.4(a) and 1.4(b)

(a) It is hypothesized that reality definers in different school/educational situations will theorize differently about Aboriginal identity for their students, and will thus project different models for identity with which students may interact.

(b) It is hypothesized that Aboriginal students will theorize negatively about the world of education.

4.32 Area II

(i) Interaction between social structure and the worlds in which people live

(a) Social structure - typifications

'Social structure' is defined as "the sum of typifications and of recurrent patterns of action established by means of them" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:48).

"I apprehend the other by means of typificatory schemes even in the face-to-face situation" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:45).

The individual inherits the typifications of the group within which he locates himself and is located by others. His perception of self is filtered through the accumulated self-typifications of the group and his awareness of the typifications by others outside the group.

For Aboriginal youth this means that the individual, contexted into a specific social structure, inherits the biography of his particular group together with the awareness of attitudes to, and perceptions of, his group by the dominant group. Thus his personal, individual perceptions of the self, are filtered, to a greater or lesser degree, by his awareness of typifications, of social stereotypes, both those of Aboriginal people and those of mainstream society.

The 'specific social structure' wherein the individual locates himself, which contains typifications with which he interacts to form psychological reality, consists of multiple realities, of sub-structures. There are differing 'worlds' of home, school, peer group, employers and so on. In the school/education situation, the individual's peer group, his school consociates and his teachers may typify the Aboriginal individual in ways that differ from his own typifications. That is, there may be asymmetry between the individual's self-typification and his typification by various groups in mainstream society. There may be differences between typifications of Aboriginal people by non-Aborigines coming from different social groups.

For example, typifications may differ between those who have greater or less contact with Aboriginal people.

4.32(i) (b) Institutionalization of typifications

Institutionalization, according to Berger and Luckmann (1966:72) occurs

> ...whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. The typifications of habitualized actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones. They are available to all members of the particular social group in question and the institution itself typifies individual actors as well as individual actions. Institutions further imply historicity and control.

Thus all institutions in the sense used here, are historical by their very nature - the result of negotiations or imposition by a dominant group.

Institutions act to control human interaction since they set up accepted, defined modes of interaction which preclude the many other alternatives that would be possible.

Thus when individuals are socialized into institutionalized social structures, they are socialized into a world where identity and its correlates of behaviour are predefined.

AREA II: INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE WORLDS IN WHICH WE LIVE

4.32(ii) Research questions, hypotheses Area II - location of Aborigines in a 'world' of meaning by typifications and institutionalization of typifications.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2.1

Typifications

What are the typifications of Aborigines held by non-Aborigines?

(1) historically

(2) currently?

HYPOTHESIS 2.1

It is hypothesized that the typification of Aborigines by non-Aborigines has been, and is, negative and that the greater the visibility of the Aboriginal group, the more negative will be the typification.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 2.2

Institutionalization of typifications

What evidence is there of institutionalization of typifications? Is there any symmetry between typifications of Aborigines by non-Aborigines and typifications of Aborigines by Aborigines?

HYPOTHESIS 2.2

It is hypothesized that there will be evidence of institutionalization of typifications (that is, that there will be reciprocal typification, and that Aborigines will have internalised the negative typifications of the dominant group, stated in Hypothesis 2.1 above).

RESEARCH QUESTION 2.3

Typification of white world by Aborigines

Do Aboriginal people typify non-Aboriginal people negatively?

HYPOTHESIS 2.3

It is hypothesized that Aborigines will typify 'Australians' and 'Italians' negatively.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2.4

Location of Aborigines in different educational contexts/ different models of Aboriginal worlds and typifications

Is there evidence of differences in typification according to the location of individuals in the different 'models' of Aboriginal worlds advanced?

HYPOTHESES 2.4a and 2.4b

(a) It is hypothesized that the more visible the Aboriginal 'world'

- the more cohesive will be the view of the Aboriginal self
- the more positive will be the typifications of Aborigines in general, and
- the less positive the view of 'Australians'.

(b) Non-Aboriginal typification

It is hypothesized that the more visible the Aboriginal group the more negative will be the typification of Aborigines by non-Aborigines.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2.5

Adult (post-secondary Aborigines) and location in a 'world' of pre-1970 legislation and policy.

Is there evidence of differences in post-secondary Aboriginal students in typifications according to the visibility of the Aboriginal group?

HYPOTHESES 2.5a and 2.5b

In the 'world' of S.A.I.T., i.e., of post-secondary Aborigines made visible as a group:

(a) It is hypothesized that,

- there will be strong attachment to 'Aboriginal' cultural values
- there will be a positive self-typification
- there will be a negative typification of Australians

In the 'world' of post-secondary Aborigines not easily identifiable as Aborigines, not a visible group (e.g., Stone's):

(b) It is hypothesized that there will be an uncertainty in typification both of 'Aborigines' and 'Australians'.

4.33 Area III

(i) Interaction between the self and society, between social structure and psychological reality

Berger notes

> Every society contains a repertoire of identities that is part of the 'objective knowledge' of its members.
>
> It is 'known' as a matter 'of course' that there are men and women, that they have such-and-such psychological traits and that they will have such-and-such psychological reactions in typical circumstances.
>
> As the individual is socialized, these identities are 'internalized'. They are then not only taken for granted, as constituents of an objective reality 'out there' but as inevitable structures of the individual's own consciousness. The objective reality, as defined by society, is subjectively appropriated. In other words, socialization brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity (Berger, 1971:96).

At this point a difference of direction from Berger and Luckmann is introduced.

Theory in the sociology of knowledge, while emphasizing the social context of knowledge and the social context of consciousness, nevertheless highlights also the paradox that, while society makes man, man also makes society. Man is circumscribed, constrained, by his circumstances. He is not determined by them. The individual can interact with reality and change it.

Thus an individual may or may not appropriate the identity offered him.

4.33(i) (a) Appropriation of identity - symmetry between objective and subjective reality

In the case to be studied, that of Aboriginal identity, one possibility is for the individual to locate himself within the symbolic universe of the dominant group. In this case, if the theorizing of the dominant group about Aborigines is *negative* then socialization into mainstream society - that is symmetry between objective and subjective reality - will lead to socialization into a negative identity (See Erikson, p. 31 above).

4.33(i) (b) Asymmetry between objective and subjective reality - alternative identity

When a group of individuals resist the identity offered by mainstream society, the conceptual machinery exercised by mainstream society may be deemed to have failed. Other possibilities arise. For example, identity-diffusion may result, or an alternative identity may be structured. In this case the location of the Aboriginal self may be in an Aboriginal 'world' of meaning, not in the world offered by mainstream society. In this instance, if theorizing about this (Aboriginal) world *by Aborigines* is positive, then symmetry between objective and subjective reality will result in an identity that is not only positive (ego-identity), but also alternative to mainstream society. Where there is a conscious structuring of alternative identity, 'objective reality' as defined by (mainstream) society, is not appropriated.

Rather a new reality with new possibilities of identity is constructed.

In summary, while Berger and Luckmann's explication of identity as a problem in the sociology of knowledge is accepted in general, there is a rejection of aspects of a-historicity of their approach and of their overtones of determination. The

theory of identity construction is here enlarged to accommodate further possibilities not taken into account by Berger and Luckmann.

4.33(i) (c) Failure to form a cohesive identity

There is a third possibility, namely ego-diffusion, the failure to form a cohesive identity.

Thus, in summary, several possibilities of appropriation of identity will be investigated in this study:

(1) symmetry between objective reality as defined by mainstream society and subjective reality as appropriated by individuals (negative identity);

(2) a-symmetry between objective reality of mainstream society and Aboriginal society, leading to

(a) symmetry between *positive* objective reality of *Aboriginal* society and subjective reality (ego-identity); or

(b) symmetry between *negative* objective reality of *Aboriginal* society and subjective reality (negative identity); or

(3) failure to form a cohesive identity (ego-diffusion).

4.33(ii) Securing of identity by identials

Both in the case of 2(a) and 2(b) above, that is the formation of ego-identity and negative identity, the sense of continuity in the location of the self is secured by identials (cf. p. 31 above).

Thus the issues to be explored in Area III are those of typifications, institutionalization of typifications, and the securing of self-typification by identials.

AREA III: INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SELF AND SOCIETY BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY

4.33(iii) Research questions, hypotheses, Area III

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 3.1

Typologies of identity

(a) Of which of the typologies of the psychological correlates of identity is there evidence in the case of Aboriginal students, e.g., ego-identity?
identity-diffusion?
negative identity?

(b) Is there evidence of the holding of values that are Aboriginal values rather than those of mainstream society?

HYPOTHESES 3.1a and 3.1b.

(a) It is hypothesized that Aboriginal students will manifest characteristics of identity-diffusion or negative identity.

(b) It is hypothesized that the values of Aboriginal students will be oriented towards the values of mainstream society.

RESEARCH QUESTION 3.2

Identials

What is the nature of identials securing Aboriginal identity?

HYPOTHESIS 3.2

It is hypothesized that identials associated with Aboriginal identity will have negative characteristics.

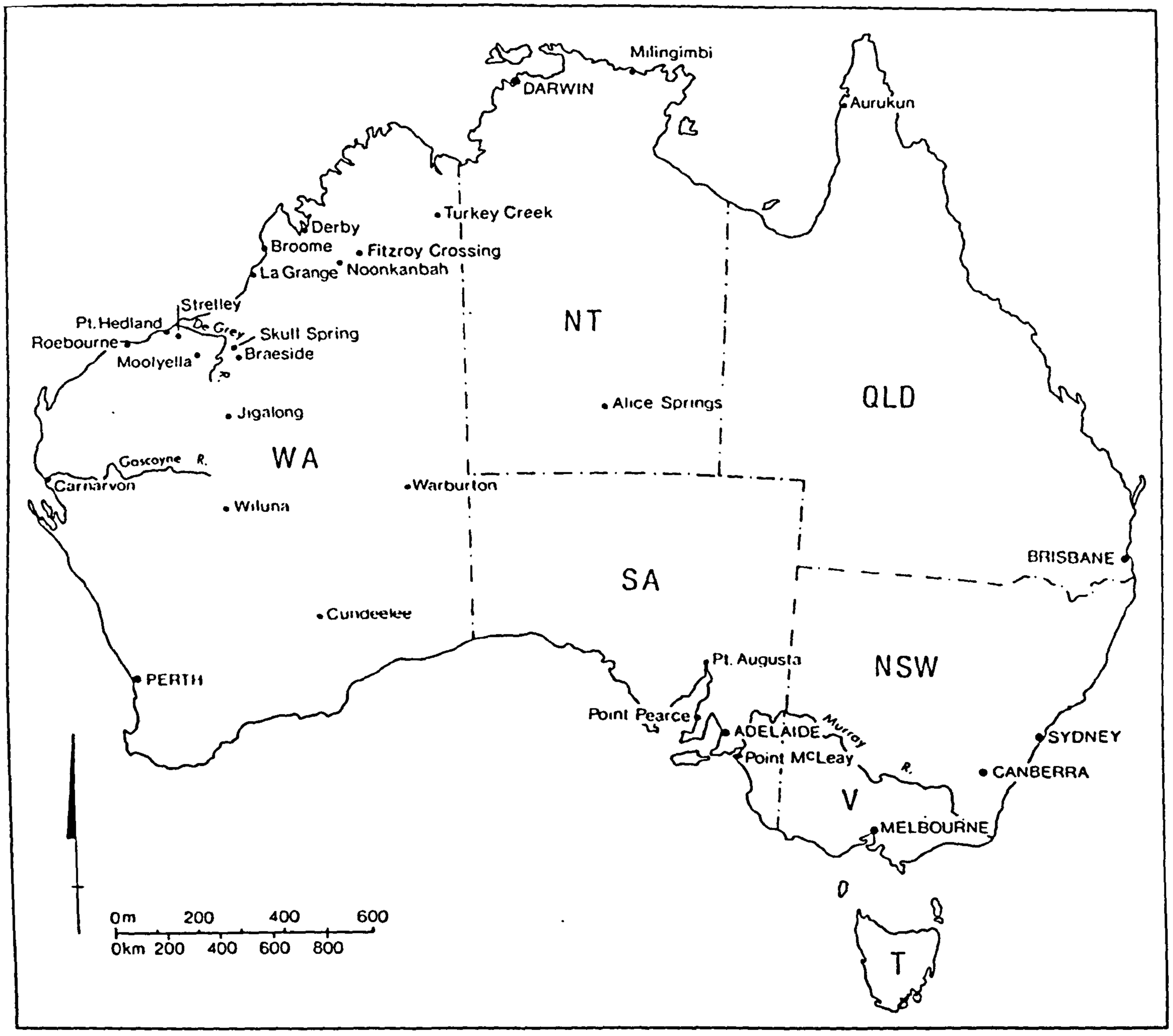

FIG. 1 LOCATION MAP

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH CONTEXT/METHODOLOGY

Three situations were chosen as providing different 'worlds' for the study of Aboriginal identity, following upon the early exploratory discussion with Aboriginal people, namely, Strelley community near Pt. Hedland in Western Australia, Pt. Augusta, in the north of South Australia and Adelaide, the capital of South Australia.

5.1 Strelley

Strelley community was selected for the reason that, on a visit in 1979, it was apparent that the people had a clear concept of their identity *as a group* and had structured an ideology which provided a framework to construct and maintain Aboriginal identity.

5.11 History of Strelley Community

The Strelley Mob[1] are Aboriginal people from the Pilbara region of Western Australia who were stockmen, welded into a unity (The Mob) by common hardships endured when they went on strike in 1946 for a just wage. Their story, The Story of the Mob, is recounted in Mikurrunya, the Strelley Community Newsletter.

> Aborigines from the North, West and Gibson Desert had approached Don McLeod[2] a prospector and miner, in the early 1940s for help. They invited him to a meeting at Skull Spring.[3]

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[1]The group is variously known as the 'Strelley Mob', 'McLeod's Mob', the Nomads Group.

[2]The Strelley Mob made Don McLeod "a leader in the Law. This was against the whiteman's law which said that only protectors appointed by the government could deal with Aborigines" (Mikurrunya, 23.7.79:9).

[3]See map facing this page.

> The meeting lasted for six weeks! People talked about the damage that whitemen were doing to the Aboriginal way of life. They said that they wanted to stop this destruction, they wanted land of their own where whitemen could not break them down. Don told them that the way to do this was to walk off the stations. They could then work minerals to lease their own land (Mikurrunya 23.7.79).

In setting themselves up finally at cattle stations, the marrngu[1] sought to build a new model of an Aboriginal world to prevent the destruction of the Aboriginal way of life.

The Strelley community embraces all the marrngu associated with the Nomads group. At the time of the study, locations included Strelley Station, Warralong Station, Coongan Station and Carlindi Station. Lala Rookh was settled during the period of the study. Two school locations existed at the time of the study, at Strelley and at the Warralong annexe. It is difficult to give precise numbers for the group, as there is considerable movement in and out of it. At the time of the study the voting roll listed 152 names[2]. There were 123 children in attendance at the Warralong annexe and at Strelley and 48 adults and teenagers receiving adult education.

'Important men' are responsible for different areas of concern; one man, for example, is the acknowledged 'Law-man', others are responsible for white man's law, others for interaction with the courts, for the school activities at Strelley, for interaction with the state and federal education authorities, for school activities at Warralong, for station work, and so on. Permission to visit the station had to be sought and obtained beforehand from the important men.

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[1]Marrngu is the word used by Aborigines of the area to designate man, mankind, i.e. themselves.

[2]Harris, (1980), gave the numbers for the total group, including children, as 600.

5.12 Education/Schooling at Strelley

A focal point of the structure is the school, constituted as a community agency. Education, going on into adult life, controlled by the people themselves, had always been seen as of paramount importance. Similarly, schooling was given esteem after white contact. Very soon after the strike, as early as 1947, a school had been set up by an Aboriginal man, Tommy Sampi, to teach literacy and numeracy to adults at the Twelve Mile Camp near Pt. Hedland (Mikurrunya, 26.10.81:10).

The present Independent School was set up at Strelley by 'the Mob' in 1975. The school is run by the School Board, with an important man ultimately responsible for policy. Authority is structured hierarchically. The white Principal is secretary to School Board and meets with it when discussions concern the running of the school. Those decisions taken which specifically involve white teachers, are then communicated to the rest of the staff. There is a formal etiquette governing all communication within the community.

The Principal is asked, at times, also to convey messages for the Aboriginal community on matters not directly concerned with the school, for example, when the area was devastated by cyclones.

The white male staff at Strelley in 1980 consisted of the Principal of the school, two teacher/linguists, teacher/educators, one teacher for school-age boys, one person engaged in the editing and production of the newsletter and literature in English and the vernacular. The female staff consisted of one teacher for the school-age girls, one teacher for pre-school children, boys and girls, two part-time teachers (wives of staff already mentioned) engaged in conducting programmes for adults in secretarial skills and dressmaking. A health worker visited the community regularly, but was not resident.

At the Warralong[1] annexe, established in 1979, the Principal taught school-age boys and those in a sheep-breeding programme. His

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[1]Warralong Station is about two hours travel by car from Strelley.

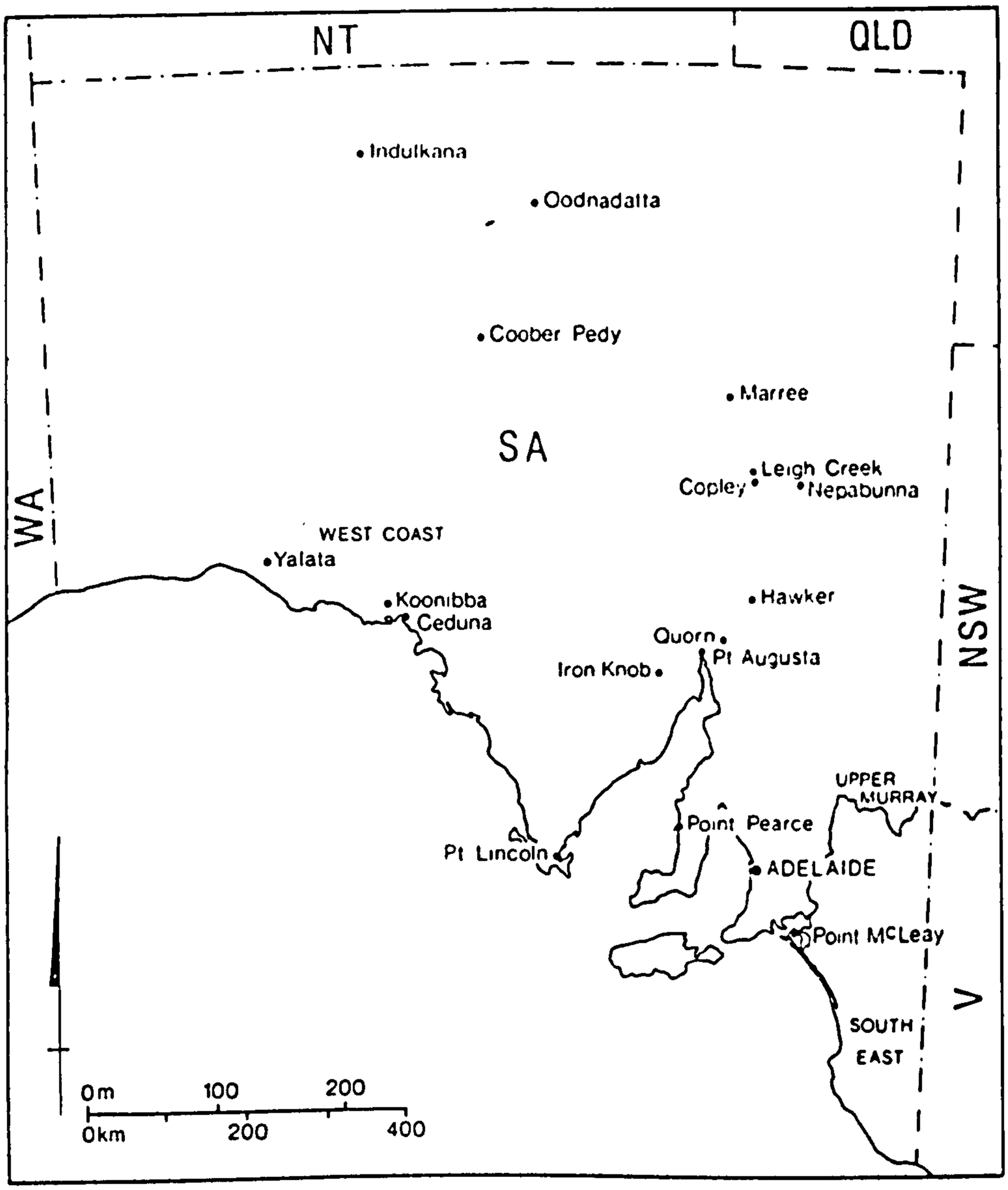

FIG. 2 LOCATION OF 1) Pt. AUGUSTA SHOWING THE NORTHERN & WESTERN PARTS OF THE STATE FROM WHICH ABORIGINAL PEOPLE HAVE COME TO Pt. AUGUSTA, & 2) ADELAIDE SHOWING THE SOUTHERN SECTOR OF THE STATE FROM WHICH ABORIGINAL PEOPLE HAVE MIGRATED TO ADELAIDE.

wife, a teacher/linguist, worked with school-age girls in the morning and adults in the afternoon. A third member of staff worked with pre-school children.

The staff interacts with the philosophy of the Mob, which is clearly articulated. This philosophy, formulated by the group, is communicated to white staff in a general way in the terms of employment, and in a particular way where this is seen as appropriate.

Both schools have had Aboriginal staff teaching pre-school children and teaching the vernacular to adults and pre-school children.

5.2 Pt. Augusta

Pt. Augusta was chosen as a place at a crossroads, both geographic and cultural[1]. There is movement backwards and forwards between Aboriginal people from the north and west of South Australia and the people of Pt. Augusta.

Pt. Augusta is considered to be a racist town by Aborigines and non-Aborigines alike. The editor of the local newspaper regularly publishes articles of a racist nature. The attitude of the townspeople was such that it was not until 1968 that the first Aboriginal family was admitted to the town to live (Gaskell, 1980:7). Aborigines were segregated on a reserve several miles outside the town.

5.21 History of the mission/schooling

Miss Merle Cantle, a missionary to the Pt. Augusta Aborigines from 1942, in a popular history of the mission, The Umeewarra Story, relates that

> The Aboriginal children were neglected and not welcome at the Pt. Augusta school but public opinion was stirred and in 1937 a portable classroom was erected in the vicinity of the camp and a subsidised teacher

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[1] See Figure 2.

> appointed...when one councillor stood up and gave his opinion that the best thing to do was to turn a machine gun on the whole camp and wipe it right out, people and all, Mr. Riches (the mayor) determined to do his utmost for the local Aborigines (Cantle, 1978:1).

A reserve of 200 acres for a mission was procured in 1938. A children's home was established. Medical cases from Coober Pedy, Oodnadatta, and along the transcontinental railway line connecting Pt. Augusta to Perth were brought in to Pt. Augusta for treatment, their relatives staying at the mission, which thus came to minister to tribal people.

After the war, Miss Cantle relates, there was talk of the children going to schools at Pt. Augusta. Psychologists from the Education Department decided, however, "that the children, mostly, had a primitive background and needed specialised teaching for some time" (Cantle, 1978:8).

A school was provided at the mission with Government support. Miss Cantle (1978:15) notes that

> In 1963 the Government took full responsibility for the reserve. The Aborigines became eligible for social services and no longer received weekly rations.

The boys from the Umeewarra home went to work at fourteen years of age - mostly to stations. The girls remained at school until sixteen. It was not until 1967 that there was any expectation for the Aboriginal children to go to secondary schools in Pt. Augusta. When this happened, in 1968, the mission school closed.

Writing in 1978, Miss Cantle comments

> In these days in a changing world, the Aborigines of the Port Augusta area appear as a confused people (Cantle, 1978:16).

5.22 Pt. Augusta at the time of the study

Table 1 contains the places of origin of people in the Powell survey on employment (estimates of the Pt. Augusta Aboriginal population in 1978 were quoted in Federal Parliament as 1,109 people).

TABLE 1

ORIGINS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AT PT. AUGUSTA

Places of origin[1]	No. of persons	% of sample
Pt. Augusta	94	38.1
Nepabunna	26	10.5
Maree	22	8.9
Alice Springs	17	6.9
Copley	11	4.5
Hawker	10	4.0
Adelaide	9	3.6
Pt. Pearce	8	3.2
Quorn	7	2.8
Leigh Creek	6	2.4

(Powell, 1978:12)

A further 22 centres were named in the northern and western regions of the state as places of origin.

Tribal initiations at Pt. Augusta ceased when tribal lands were taken over by white people. However, there are still initiated men alive who belong to the area. Initiated men from neighbouring areas visit. In June 1982 the Aboriginal people of Pt. Augusta articulated a case for being consulted concerning the tribal lands of the Kokatha people for whom the area is tribal land. Thus there is a theorizing that locates the people into a tribal relationship with land.

People from the reserve have moved into Pt. Augusta proper and the reserve continues to house newly-arrived 'bush' Aborigines from

[1] See Figure 2.

the north and west, as well as others who have not moved into the town for various reasons.

There are a number of agencies funded by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs within which Aboriginal people exert considerable authority and influence.

Aboriginal people work with Legal Aid, the Department of Health, Department of Community Welfare, Commonwealth Employment Service, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Aboriginal Housing. Aboriginal people administer Davenport reserve and the educational programmes there. They administer rehabilitation centres for alcoholics and homes for the aged. They are a band of most impressive people successful in their jobs, visible as a group to both Aborigines and non-Aborigines.

There is a degree of autonomy appropriated by the Aboriginal people in that a panel of Aboriginal people meets regularly to articulate policy for all the Aboriginal groups.

Unemployment is a focus of great concern. Considerable back-lash was experienced when a policy of positive discrimination for Aboriginal apprentices was introduced in the mid-seventies.

5.23 Education/Schooling at Pt. Augusta

(i) Department of Further Education

The Department of Further Education conducts 'enclave' courses for Aborigines as a preparation for office work and apprenticeships, the latter available through the Commonwealth Railways and government type institutions. It also co-operates in providing a tutor system for teacher-aides in a course provided jointly by the Department of Further Education, the Kindergarten Union and the South Australian College of Advanced Education.

(ii) Davenport Adult Education Centre

The Aboriginal people themselves set up in 1975 an adult education centre at Davenport reserve. It was intended to supply management skills (e.g. report writing, office procedures, general administrative techniques). It quickly developed courses, particularly Aboriginal studies, concentrating on the development of self-image through education (Gaskell 1980:6). Students came from Point Pearce, Copley, Nepabunna, Oodnadatta, Marree, Coober Pedy, Iron Knob, Ceduna and Pt. Lincoln[1]. Tribal affiliations were mostly Adnjamathanha and Andagirinya, with smaller numbers of Narangga, Kokatha, Arabana and Ngarrindjeri descent (Gaskell, 1980:7-8).

(iii) Schools

There are three high schools - a Catholic parochial high school with virtually no Aboriginal representation, Pt. Augusta High School in the town centre, Augusta Park in a new housing area and five primary schools.

(a) Pt. Augusta High School.

Schools at Pt. Augusta are zoned. The Aboriginal enrolment of Pt. Augusta High is composed of Aborigines from different social class backgrounds, as well as different tribal affiliations.

There are students from Aboriginal families long established in a life-style similar to that of white people, though the individuals do not see themselves as part of white society (Gaskell, 1980). They live in dwellings dispersed among white groups. Many of the men have a history of employment in the Commonwealth Railways, or with the local council[2]. Some students have

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[1] See Figure 2.

[2] A table of employment patterns for Aborigines is reproduced in Appendix II.

Aboriginal parents who have married into white society, and are integrated into white society.

Aboriginal students make up a large proportion of enrolments. Seventy six students formed 14.56 per cent of the total enrolment in 1980. (Pt. Augusta Primary School, in the centre of the town, had 52.6 per cent of its enrolments Aboriginal students)[1].

The Aboriginal students constitute a large, visible group coming from a wide variety of family backgrounds, varying from integration into white society, to the other extreme, of 'bush' people, newly arrived at the Davenport reserve from camp situations.

Among those coming into the area and attending school at the primary school level, there are Aboriginal people still speaking their native language.

(b) Augusta Park High School

Augusta Park Aborigines share the same background outlined for Pt. Augusta High, but with a different emphasis. Augusta Park is a relatively newly established suburb of Pt. Augusta. The schooling areas at the time of the study were zoned to keep the numbers at each school approximately the same.

There was Aboriginal housing in the area, providing a choice for those Aboriginal people who wished to opt out of central Pt. Augusta housing areas and established kinship groupings. It is likely, then, that Aboriginal people moving into this area were oriented to a white world. In 1980, 49 students out of an enrolment of 519 were Aborigines (9.44 per cent). The nearby primary school of Augusta Park had a 4.95 per cent enrolment of Aboriginal students (25 students)[2]. There were proportionately less Aboriginal students

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[1]Enrolments in 1981 for central Pt. Augusta were: Pt. Augusta High, 98 students, 18.49 per cent of total enrolment; Pt. Augusta Primary, 130 students, 63.73 per cent of total enrolment.

[2]The 1981 Aboriginal enrolments for Augusta Park were: Secondary school, 52 students, 9.42 per cent of the total enrolment; Primary School, 35 students, 6.60 per cent of the total enrolment.

than at Pt. Augusta High and the Aboriginal enrolment was thus less visible.

5.3 Adelaide

5.31 Background

The Aboriginal people of Adelaide were wiped out through death and dispersal in the early years of settlement. A description of their culture is found in Edwards (1972), The Kaurna People of the Adelaide Plains.

The Aboriginal population surveyed by Gale (1972) were migrants from Point Pearce, Point McLeay and the West Coast of South Australia. Smaller groups had come from the South East and the Upper Murray[1]. All these groups formed quite distinct kinship groups (Gale, 1972:76). By 1966, the year in which Gale's data was gathered, half the people originally from Point McLeay, and one third of Pt. Pearce people, had migrated to Adelaide.

Aboriginal people in Adelaide identify themselves as belonging to the Point McLeay group or Point Pearce group (Gale, 1972:81). However, it must be pointed out that this 'belongingness' is to a group structured by white people, church or government. Both Point Pearce and Point McLeay were originally missions. Thus in tracing their origins to one of these places, the people are in fact identifying themselves with a reserve or mission which over generations has come to be their home.

While it is common to speak of 'the Aboriginal community', in fact there is rather an aggregation of people from different kinship groupings, often traditionally at variance with one another.

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[1] See Figure 2.

Gale (1974:2) remarks that the urban Aborigines of Adelaide "have retained only a little of their original culture". They have been isolated socially and "have developed social patterns different from those of either traditional Aborigines or other Australians". Gale saw their world of meaning "blending traits of traditional and western culture" (Gale, 1974:2). Thus urban Aboriginal people do not identify with Aboriginal Law. On the contrary, the impact of the missions was to destroy the Law and the authority of the elders in introducing the people to Christian religion.

Very few of the people in Adelaide possess even words of the tribal language. The language comes to individuals in mediated form, as a cultural 'object'[1].

The urban Aborigine, under current legislation is subject only to white man's law.

In addition to those Aborigines who were easily identifiable by physical characteristics, there were those who had features and colouring which enabled them to 'pass' into the white community. These people often lived and worked in the mainstream society until the seventies.

A significant development of the seventies was the provision of secondary education grants for Aborigines. An unintended consequence of these grants was that those who had 'passed' into white society, but wished to avail themselves of these grants, had first to 'identify' as Aboriginal. Such identification was then recognised by the funding body, mediated by the school or some other agency.

Thus individuals who once made a choice to 'pass' into the community, in the seventies identified their children as Aborigines.

Many of these children had believed themselves to be 'white'.

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[1] cf. a report (*The Advertiser*, 3/4/82) of a young Aboriginal woman seeking to learn, and then teach, the language of her people by using a translation of the Bible made by a missionary at Point McLeay in the 1860s.

5.32 Location of Aborigines

Gale (1972:100-102) in her survey carried out in 1966, showed Aborigines scattered throughout the city, with three focal points: the city itself, Pt. Adelaide/Angle Park/Taperoo, and the satellite cities of Elizabeth and Salisbury. In the first two cases large, old, low-rental houses attracted groups of Aborigines. In the Elizabeth/Salisbury area, housing trust low rental houses were available in which multiple tenancy was not encouraged. These restrictions on occupancy made possible a life-style based on single family units, differing from the older established housing areas where kin groups lived in sub-standard housing.

5.33 Aboriginal agencies

The Report of the Aboriginal Advancement Committee for 1979 listed Aboriginal representatives from the following Aboriginal agencies in Adelaide:

1. National Aboriginal Committee (3)
2. Tribal Communities (2): Yalata 1
   North West 1
3. Functional organisations(6):

   Aboriginal Housing Board
   Education Advisory Committee
   Health Advisory Committee
   Welfare Advisory Committee
   Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement
   Woma Committee

In addition to the Aboriginal representatives there were non-Aboriginal representatives from government agencies.

Aboriginal autonomy in Adelaide may be seen as more constrained by the representation from the white bureaucracy than is the case at Pt. Augusta, where a panel of Aboriginal people articulates policy.

5.34 Education/Schooling in Adelaide metropolitan area

(i) High schools/primary schools: enrolment

At the time of Gale's early study in 1965, Adelaide provided settings for schools catering for Aboriginal people in areas recognised as locations for Aboriginal families, as well as schools in developing areas with high migrant concentration, which also attracted Aborigines.

Gale (1972:244) reported 267 Aboriginal children attending 109 schools in Adelaide in 1965. Sixty five were in government primary schools, 25 were in government secondary schools and 19 were in private schools. More than half the schools in Adelaide had at least one Aboriginal pupil. The largest group numbered 10.

By 1970, one school had 19 Aboriginal pupils and several others had more than 10.

By 1980, the 65 children in primary schools in 1965 had grown to 657 and 25 secondary students had grown to 335, with a further 46 children in non-government primary schools and 75 in non-government secondary schools, an increase of 910 percent in primary and 1240 per cent in secondary government schools.

The number of government metropolitan high schools enrolling Aboriginal students was 58; 127 primary and junior primary schools had an Aboriginal enrolment. Fifty-four non-government schools enrolled Aborigines, a total of 239 schools compared with 109 in 1970.

The scatter of students in the metropolitan area was widened.[1]

In 1980, 24 high schools had 5 or more Aboriginal students, 9 schools had 10 or more. In all cases this was less than 5 per cent of the total enrolment.

Fifty-three primary schools and/or junior primary schools had 50 or more Aboriginal students enrolled, 17 of these with 10 or more students.

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[1] See Appendix III for statistics of Aboriginal enrolments in 1980.

(ii) Aboriginal Community College

An Aboriginal Community College was established in 1973 in Adelaide for those adult Aboriginal people lacking the basic skills needed to take advantage of any other forms of education being offered. From late 1973 representation of government departments on the Management Committee was reduced; the majority of committee members were then Aboriginal people, thus giving the people a measure of autonomy within this situation.

(iii) Department of Further Education

The Department of Further Education conducts courses specifically for Aboriginal people in the metropolitan area, as it does in Pt. Augusta, constituting special courses to meet special needs, some of these in conjunction with the Aboriginal Community College.

(iv) Business Colleges

Aboriginal people are to be found dispersed not only in independent schools, but also in independent business colleges throughout the city. A relatively large group of girls was enrolled in 1980 at Stone's Business College (18 in number).

(v) South Australian Institute of Technology - Task Force

The Aboriginal Task Force was instituted in 1973. It provides a supportive enclave situation with a resource centre, and facilities for coaching and counselling. Members of the student body are encouraged to articulate student demands and needs.

Student intake is about 35-40 each year. Initially, students enrol in a Community Development Course. The qualification received gives entry to the Third Division of the Australian Public Service, as well as entitlement to full entry status to the Institute's Associate Diploma in Social Work.

(vi) A.T.E.P. programme - South Australian College of Arts and Education

The Aboriginal Teacher Education Programme, designed to promote the training of Aboriginal teachers and similar in many ways to the Task Force described above, was constituted in 1979.

Mature Aboriginal students study in normal courses but with a support system in an enclave programme.

(vii) The Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music, University of Adelaide

The centre became an official adjunct of the University in 1974. The day to day activities of the centre are under the leadership of an Aboriginal person. Aboriginal elders from Indulkana[1] in the far north of South Australia travel south each month to teach Aboriginal music to white students in the ethno-musicology programme. White teachers teach western music to Aboriginal children in the centre.

5.4 Selection of institutions for study

Visits were made to all the educational institutes listed above. The following institutions were selected for study.

5.41 Secondary Schools

(i) Rationale for Selection

(a) Pt. Augusta

The two high schools (Pt. Augusta High School and Augusta Park High School) with Aboriginal enrolments were included in the study.

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[1] See Figure 2.

(b) Adelaide metropolitan area

Taperoo High School was chosen for two reasons:

It was a city high school with a relatively high proportion of Aboriginal enrolments. In 1980 the school had the second largest metropolitan enrolments in absolute numbers, 16 students, 1.84 per cent of its total enrolment.

Taperoo High School was located in the area noted by Gale[1] as having a high concentration of Aboriginal people as far back as 1965.

Salisbury North High School was selected for the study since it was in an area which made provision, like Augusta Park High School, for Aboriginal people to opt for Aboriginal housing, which offered the possibility of moving away from kinship groupings into a less 'visible' situation.

5.41(ii) Population to be studied

In the secondary schools, year 9 and year 11 students were selected to take part in the study for the following reasons:

Year 9 students attend school under compulsion, and should therefore contain a cross-section of students, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal.

Year 11 students have, in general, passed the age for compulsory attendance at school. It may be posited, that, for whatever reason, parents and/or students believe that schooling meets some felt need.

In the case of Aboriginal students, the absolute numbers attending school for the state are relatively small[2]. The drop-out rate after year 10 is high.

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[1] See p.65 above.

[2] See p.69 below.

In 1980 there were, in all government schools in the state, 302 students in year 9 and 102 in year 11. The year 11 class of 1980 was the remnant of the year 10 class of 1979. In 1979 there were 192 Aboriginal students in year 10. Thus the 1980 enrolment of 102 in year 11 represents a drop-out rate of 46.87 per cent. Year 12 in 1980 for the whole state had only 22 Aboriginal students.

Thus a study of year 12 students would necessarily have been highly individualised. For this reason, though these students would have a more mature point of view, a study of year 12 was reluctantly rejected in favour of year 11.

Even where there were no Aboriginal students persevering to year 11, the non-Aboriginal students were presumed to have had experience of schooling with a visible Aboriginal component.

All Aboriginal students in the age-grade sample were included in the study. Every second non-Aboriginal was selected from the Pt. Augusta schools from year 9 and year 11. Every fourth non-Aboriginal student was selected from the metropolitan schools from year 9 and year 11.

The following numbers are the result of this sampling:

TABLE 2

SURVEY SAMPLE - HIGH SCHOOLS

	Non-Aboriginal Sample	Aboriginal Students
Pt. Augusta High School		
Year 9	50	18
Year 11	28	7
Augusta Park High School		
Year 9	38	10
Year 11	18	-
Taperoo High School		
Year 9	46	17
Year 11	45	-
Salisbury North High School		
Year 9	40	5*
Year 11	24	-

* See pp. 325-326 for a comment on this statistic.

The smallness of Aboriginal numbers beyond the age of compulsion in secondary schools prompted a search for other situations where senior students, with a view of reality possibly differing from that of school students, could be found.

Powell (1978:53) had shown that Aboriginal students opted for situations in which they would feel more at ease than in the school situation and where they received support from other Aboriginal students.

It was therefore decided to include in the study a situation where students had opted for a form of schooling that could be seen as alternative to government state schools, and a tertiary situation where Aboriginal students had special support facilities.

The following post-secondary situations were chosen for study.

5.42 Post-secondary institutions

(i) Stone's Business College

Of the independent educational institutions surveyed, Stone's Business College was selected for the study because it stood out as having a high enrolment of Aboriginal students. The college drew students from wide areas, including both the metropolitan area and Pt. Augusta.

The number of Aboriginal students in 1980 was 19.

(ii) South Australian Institute of Technology - Task Force

Aboriginal Students in the South Australian Institute of Technology Task Force were included on the grounds that, given the small numbers of Aboriginal students attending educational institutions beyond the age of compulsory attendance, the presence of students in the Task Force showed a commitment to further education that is too difficult for the Aboriginal population, in general, to make. For this reason, students in the Task Force were seen as having the potential of being reality definers[1].

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[1] See p. 2 above.

The Task Force, like Stone's Business College, draws students from many areas, including Pt. Augusta and metropolitan Adelaide.

The 1980 intake numbered 18 students.

5.43 Summary

(a) Nature of the urban sample.

The sample selected permitted classification along the following axes:-

(1)	Location	Rural urban, Pt. Augusta/ metropolitan urban, Adelaide
(2)	Visibility of the Aboriginal group	High visibility, Pt. Augusta High School/ low visibility, Salisbury North High School; high visibility, S.A.I.T./ low visibility, Stone's Business College
(3)	Identification	Identification by white personnel, Pt. Augusta/ non-identification by white personnel, Salisbury North. Identification by self and staff, S.A.I.T./ non-identification by self or staff, Stone's
(4)	Age-group	School-age identity formation in climate of post seventies legislation/ post-secondary identity formation contexted into climate of pre-seventies legislation.

(b) The Aboriginal 'worlds'

The description of the 'worlds' of Aboriginal people at Strelley, Pt. Augusta and Adelaide has indicated fundamental differences in the composition of the groups. The conceptualisation of the worlds of meaning of Aboriginal people by Aboriginal people will now be addressed.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONSTRUCTION OF 'WORLDS' BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

The research question is asked: What models of Aboriginal 'worlds' do Aboriginal people offer themselves? What are the characteristics of these worlds?

6.1 Construction of models of Aboriginal society

This question of models of Aboriginal worlds was put to all those 'reality definers' consulted in the preliminary interviews[1].

The model of worlds proposed initially to the reality definers was one of linear development:

tribal people → tradition-oriented → marginal → anomic → fringe dwellers → urban Aborigines → those who have 'passed'

This model was rejected by the people and a succession of new schema was gradually developed, based on the theorizing encountered in interviews, until, finally, models meeting the approval of all those consulted were developed.

A figure showing the models offered and a description of the models will now follow.

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[1] See p.2 above.

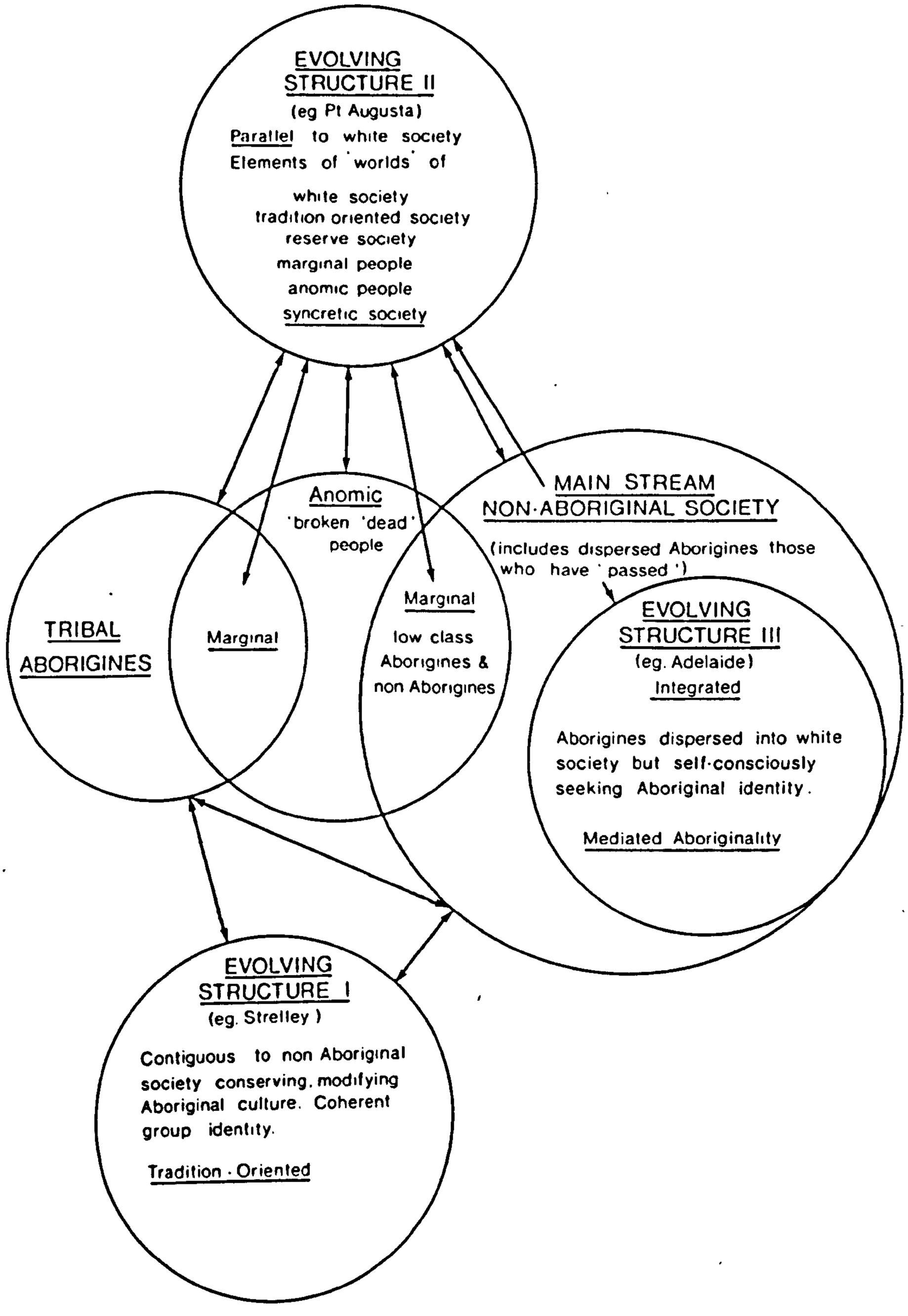

FIG. 3 SUGGESTED MODELS OF ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

6.2 Models of Aboriginal 'worlds'

Figure 3 shows the following possibilities

(a) Contiguity/conservation (Strelley)

(b) Parallel society/syncretism (Pt. Augusta)

(c) Integration/mediated Aboriginality (Adelaide).

6.21 Evolving Structure I - contiguity/conservation (Strelley)

In this model Aboriginal society sees itself as contiguous to white society. Aborigines who have been brought into contact with white society reject white society and move away from it.

This model takes into account the promotion of a theorizing about action *upon* 'standard' white society to take from it only those components necessary to construct an Aboriginal world.

In this new society non-Aboriginal teachers are employed to teach 'white' learning, Aboriginal teachers are employed for Aboriginal education (in its widest sense). Contact with non-Aboriginal people 'outside' is restricted by the people themselves.

The model is one of conservation, in that traditional Law and traditional customs are restored and observed.

A new Aboriginal society is consciously structured, conserving in a modified form the traditions of the old.

6.22 Evolving Structure II - parallel society/syncretic (Pt. Augusta)

This model takes account of the interaction between tradition-oriented people from the north and west[1] of South Australia, reserve dwellers, Aboriginal people integrated into town life and non-Aboriginal dwellers in Pt. Augusta.

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[1] See Figure 2 showing places of origin of inhabitants of Pt. Augusta.

Reserve people have kinship relations with tradition-oriented people and with town Aboriginal people.

In such an interaction it was claimed by 'reality definers' that urban Aborigines possess structures of an Aboriginal society distinct from white society, though individually, in housing and employment, many may be physically integrated into a white urban world.

For these people there is a number of possible interactions. They may interact with white people, they may interact with reserve dwellers, they may respect and even identify to an extent with tradition-oriented people and indeed receive some degree of education from them. Such education and interaction is seen by many of those interviewed at Pt. Augusta as leading to a society parallel to non-Aboriginal society.

The parallel society sees itself combining elements of the different symbolic universes of tradition-oriented and urban Aborigines and building a new sense of identity, locating the self in a 'world' of meaning that may be termed syncretic.

6.23 Evolving Structure III - integration/mediated Aboriginality (Adelaide)

The Aboriginal people of Adelaide by and large are acculturated and integrated into mainstream society.

In this model, while there is some small interaction with tradition-oriented people, on the whole interaction takes place within sub-groupings and between sub-groupings of Aboriginal people, in particular those from Point Pearce and those from Point McLeay.

For these urban people, Aboriginality is *mediated* in that they must learn about Aboriginal culture in the same

way as non-Aboriginal students.[1]

Learning about Aboriginal culture, often mediated by non-Aborigines, has led to a relocation of identity.

6.3 Summary.

As with all diagrams, there is a simplification of reality. In the three models constructed as 'ideal types' there is considerable overlap. There is overlap between

(a) tradition-oriented/tribally-rooted people and marginal anomic Aboriginal society, the latter more or less unstructured, more or less uncertain of future directions

(b) marginal, anomic Aboriginal society and non-Aboriginal lower class society

(c) Aborigines dispersed into white society and the host society.

Though acutely aware of this overlap, the study nevertheless will concern itself with ideal - typical situations (cf. Weber, in Gerth and Mills, 1970:323) and will confine itself to the three evolving models categorised above.

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[1]See Berndt, ed., (1977:9) on the role of anthropologists in this respect. See also National Aboriginal Education Committee: Aims and Objectives (1980), Schools Commission Report, 1981, both calling for college and school curricula to include Aboriginal studies. Currently such studies are most often taught by non-Aborigines.

CHAPTER VII

METHODOLOGY

7.1 Introduction

Schutz (1973:58) discusses methodological problems peculiar to the social sciences and comes to the conclusion that

> ... a theory which aims at explaining social reality has to develop particular devices foreign to the natural sciences in order to agree with the common sense experience of the world.
>
> The observational field of the social scientist - social reality - has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the human beings living, acting and thinking within it. By a series of commonsense constructs, they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as the reality of their daily lives. It is these thought objects of theirs which determine their behaviour by motivating it. The thought objects constructed by the social scientist in order to grasp this social reality have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common sense thinking of men living their daily life within their social world.
>
> ...the constructs of the social sciences are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, that is constructs of the constructs made by the actors whose behaviour the social scientist has to observe and to explain in accordance with the procedural rules of his science.

The object of this study is to seek to give understanding of everyday life in the 'world(s)' where Aborigines seek to construct an Aboriginal identity.

The researcher sets out to explore "the common sense thinking of men living their daily life within their social world", but seeks to order this reality in a more coherent manner than is readily available to the actors themselves. The purpose of this ordering is to enable the actors themselves to interact with their world to change it in ways which seem purposeful and profitable to them.

7.2 Problems of methodology specific to the study of Aboriginal people

Since the research is concerned with 'real life', 'lived life', and since different models of Aboriginal society have been posited, it must be expected that any attempt to understand these different 'worlds' will have to use a variety of methodologies for different situations, recognising that some approaches used with urban people will be inappropriate for tradition-oriented people.

7.21 The appropriateness of frameworks and methodologies to be used in the study of tradition-oriented Aboriginal people

Methods used to come to an understanding of the social reality of tradition-oriented Aborigines will have to differ from those used with urban Aborigines, both because of the level of command of English on the part of Aboriginal people and the researcher's lack of command of any Aboriginal language, and because of the cultural differences in world view. It is bizarre in the extreme to conceive of survey methods being used for tradition-oriented people.

The use of survey methods presupposes a type of mentality foreign to tradition-oriented people and their way of thinking (cf. Harris, 1977,passim).

Even the notion of co-operation in a generalized way is foreign to tradition-oriented people. Kin relationships define co-operative responses in specified situations.

Techniques involving the observation of behaviour of tradition-oriented people are limited. Even for a person living and working with Aborigines, visits to camps are not encouraged, except for specific reasons; such visits are governed by protocol.

Furthermore, among the Aboriginal group there are those who have the 'right' to knowledge. Thus while something the researcher wishes to ascertain may be common knowledge, in general, knowledge belongs to those who have the 'right' to it and the right to communicate it. Those who have this right may not necessarily see any point in 'co-operating'.

The researcher cannot expect Aboriginal people to 'hold as knowledge' in their world of meaning the same readiness to co-operate which is presumed by survey-type methodologies in the non-Aboriginal context.

In sum, methodologies which may be suitable and convenient for non-tradition oriented school populations are inappropriate for tradition-oriented people.

7.22 Attitudes of urban Aborigines to research

Many urban Aborigines feel strongly that they have in the past been exploited by researchers, perceiving the latter as treating Aborigines as 'objects' and carrying out research for purposes not related to the good of Aborigines as they themselves perceive it.

It must be accepted that people of Aboriginal descent may not perceive any point in research, except that it exploits them.

Given the past history of relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, the likely existence of mistrust on both sides, and of withdrawal on the part of some Aboriginal people, must be accepted.

7.23 Attitudes of non-Aboriginal school personnel to research concerning Aboriginal people

During preliminary interviews aimed at defining the situation and selecting educational institutions to take part in the study, there was a great readiness on the part of all concerned to be helpful.

However, many of these non-Aboriginal people identified with the Aboriginal responses sketched out above.

Some were aware of the problems associated with identifying as Aborigines students who had 'passed'; they were sensitive about overt identification of some students.

Some were anxious about the problems of white back-lash associated with aid given to Aborigines, and were hesitant about singling out Aborigines for any special attention.

Others upheld a view of Australian society that precluded identification of a student as a member of *any* ethnic group.

To summarise, there was a reluctance in some situations for personnel to identify Aboriginal students in any way that might be observed by others.

This resulted in certain limitations which will be discussed fully below[1]. On the other hand, this limitation had the positive effect of providing insights concerning non-Aboriginal theorising about Aboriginal identity.

7.24 Size of population

Keeves (1982:172) stated that in 1981, for all South Australia, there were only 33 Aboriginal students undertaking studies at year 12 level at a standard which would permit them (when, and if, studies were completed successfully) to proceed to a post-secondary institution. He found that only 35 per cent of Aboriginal students proceeded to Year 11, compared with 77 per cent of the general population.

The numbers of Aboriginal students in total is not large[2]. At any one school the numbers will be small.

However, the smallness of numbers is part of the Aboriginal social reality and must be accepted as a major constraint.

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[1] See, Chapter XIX, p. 325-326.

[2] Appendix III, p. 505, gives the school enrolments for Aborigines for 1980.

7.3 Methodology of the study

7.31 Methodology-Strelley

Four sources of information were available:

(1) documents; reports, internal and external; the community newsletter

(2) interviews with 'important men'

(3) interviews with non-Aboriginal staff

(4) student data

(1) Documentation

The Community Newsletter, intended to promote literacy programmes both in English and the vernacular, prints articles by the important men where they commit their philosophy to writing. The final version is carefully checked with the men for accuracy and reflection of meaning. Such articles are a valuable alternative to interviews for ascertaining the meaning given to the particular 'world' at Strelley.

In addition, there are the reports of the Principal of the school, submissions made by the group to Government bodies and a report on the schooling at Strelley by Harris (1980). Several biographies of individuals of the group have been written. All of these were used as source material[1].

(2) Interviews with 'important men'

Interview areas were constructed from a survey of the literature on tradition-oriented school communities[2].

The possibility of interviews with important men depended upon their view of the research being undertaken, and the trust they were willing to offer to the research worker.

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[1] See Appendix IV, p. 508, for a list of documentation

[2] A copy of the interview schedule and a full account of its construction is found in Appendix V, pp. 509ff.

The men indicated when they were ready for an interview. At Warralong, an out-station, a request to meet with the 'strong' women was readily acceded to, but in the event the women were replaced by the men who spoke with authority. Thus the participants in interview situations were decided by the community itself.

(3) Interviews with non-Aboriginal staff

It was decided that the observations of those members of staff who had worked with the Strelley Mob over a period of eighteen months or more and, in particular, the observations of the Principals of the schools who were greatly trusted by the community would be more reliable than those of an outsider coming in for the purpose of research, lacking that place in the community given to permanent residents as part of the kinship system[1].

All members of the staff who had been at Strelley for eighteen months or more were interviewed, in all eight people. Those in key positions were interviewed on a number of occasions.

(4) Student data

The role of white people, and the protocol of interaction with Aboriginal people is clearly defined. Interviewing of students was not seen as an appropriate part of this interaction. Instead, information about students was gathered from interviews with white staff and from school reports.

7.32 Methodology - urban situation

(1) Documentation[2]

There is little documentation available for the Pt. Augusta urban situation. There is a popular history of the Umeewarra mission (now Davenport reserve), an account of the establishment

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[1]Kinship groupings are allocated to permanent white residents as a means of preserving order in interpersonal relationships.

[2]See Appendix VI, p.517, for a list of documentation.

of Davenport Adult Education centre, Reports of the Department of Further Education and a research project carried out on employment.

Relevant documentation, specifically referring to the life of Aboriginal people in the Adelaide area, is found chiefly in the writings of Gale, (1964, 1972), Gale and Wundersitz, (1982), Inglis, (1961, 1962), accounts of the aims and objectives of the Aboriginal Community College, and of the South Australian Institute of Technology Task Force.

(2) Interviews with urban reality definers

Interview questions[1] were designed to provide information to map the worlds of Aboriginal people. Questions concerning the structure of groups were based in the writing of Sorokin[2]. Further questions were designed to stimulate rudimentary theorizing: theorizing about Australia as a multi-cultural society, the relationship of Aboriginal people with mainstream society, the formation of Aboriginal groups; theorizing about identity, success, schooling, deviancy, delinquency; theorizing about the meaning of self-determination and the future of Aboriginal people.

(3) Interviews with non-Aboriginal school staff

In addition to the questions asked of reality-definers, (who included Principals and school counsellors), a second series of questions was addressed to Principals and counsellors. The questions related to the theorizing of the school about Aboriginal identity, about efforts made to foster the structuring of Aboriginal identity by the school and theorizing about Aboriginal juvenile delinquency.

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[1] See Appendix VIIA, p. 528, Interview Schedule, reality definers in the urban situation.

[2] See pp. 23ff. above.

(4) Student data

Counselling staff were asked to complete a data schedule on each Aboriginal child in the survey, summarizing attendance patterns, achievement in relation to the rest of the class, employment possibilities, likelihood of 'success' in life as defined by the counsellor, estimation of ego-identity/ego-diffusion/ negative identity according to the definitions and characteristics given by Erikson and de Levita[1].

(5) Student survey

(i) Schedule 1 - Typifications [2]

(a) Schedule 1 - construction

In order to test hypotheses 2.1 - 2.3[3] typifications were constructed from four sources:

* A review of typifications, latent or explicit in government policy and legislation[4].

* A review of historical accounts and contemporary research relating to stereotyping of Aboriginal people[5].

* A review of literature with Aboriginal people as authors[6].

* Interviews with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people conducted in the process of defining the problem to be researched [7].

(b) Schedule 1 - constitution[8]

Forty-two traits were listed for scoring on a sevenpoint scale:

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[1]See Appendix VIIC, p. 532, and pp. 28ff. above.

[2]See Appendix VIII, pp.535ff.

[3]See page 47.

[4]See p. 538 below.

[5]See p. 540 below.

[6]See p. 542 below.

[7]See p. 2, above.

[8]See Appendix VIII, p. 535.

Item 1	Item 2
trustworthy	*untrustworthy*

Thirty-two of these items consisted of stereotypes found in the four sources listed.

The remaining ten items (items 2/23, 7/28, 14/35, 17/38, 21/42) were concerned with values asserted, in the sources listed, to be characteristic of an Aboriginal sub-culture, e.g.,

other things more important than money	*money and possessions important*

Positive and negative traits were listed in both left and right hand columns.

Students were asked, on completion of each schedule, to choose the five characteristics which best described the group being typified.

(ii) Schedule II - Theorizing statements[1]

(a) Schedule II - construction

From the sources detailed in the review of the literature and from the interviews sixty statements were constructed touching on issues that were raised by Aboriginal people concerning identity. As far as possible the words of the people interviewed were used in framing the statements.

(b) Schedule II - constitution

The statements were designed to elicit responses to rudimentary theorizing[2] relating to issues in the following four clusters:

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[1] See Appendix X, p. 547.

[2] See p.39 above.

* The individual in a multi-cultural Australia

Statements 1, 51, 19, 5, 10, 56, 59, 44, 37

* Typologies of identity (hypothesis 3.1)

Positive Identity	Negative identity	Identity-diffusion
Trust 45,[1] 54, 18	Distrust 3, 38; expectation of rejection 7, 26, 29, 36	
Autonomy 22, 52, 31, 16	Autonomy as a strain towards delinquency 32	
Functional constancy (i.e. the feeling of occupying a place of one's own in the community)	33, 41, 46, 34	Feelings of being a non-person 4, 39, 24; overall feeling of being ashamed 46; strain towards withdrawal in education 2, 6, 30, 9, 20, 28

* Identials (hypothesis 3.2)

Housing 53, 48
Religion 17
Language 42, 40
Physical attributes 60, 23
Nicknames 50
Employment 11, 13, 15, 57

* Attributes of Aboriginal culture (hypothesis 2.5)

Differing value system, Schedule I, Items 7/28; 14/35; 17/38;21/42
Views of success 21, 25, 35, 43, 8

The sixty statements required a choice: Agree strongly, agree, not sure, disagree, disagree strongly.

(iii) Schedule III - Theorizing about success[2]

Students were asked to describe characteristics of people who were a success or a failure, to describe success for themselves

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[1]Numbers refer to Schedule II statements.

[2]See Appendix XI, p. 551.

personally and rate their chances of achieving success. They were asked to rate their hope of getting a job when they left school.

(iv) Schedule IV[1] - Location of the self in groups

Schedule IV was designed to give supplementary information concerning location of the self in groups - within the family, religious groups, etc.

A schema showing the relationship between the theoretical framework, the research questions generated by the theoretical framework and the methodology used will be found in Table 3.

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[1] See Appendix XII, p. 552.

TABLE 3

Schema of research project showing the relationship between theoretical framework, research questions and methodology

The Theory: Area 1 — Identity and the construction of a psychological model at the theoretical level of consciousness

Theoretical component	Research questions	Methodology
Theorizing: location/ naming of Aborigines by mainstream society, location/ naming of Aboriginal people by Aboriginal people	1. Are there different models of Aboriginal worlds offered by government, and government agencies?	1. Survey of literature for Government policy and practice.
	2. What conceptual machinery is employed in relation to the construction and maintenance of these worlds?	2. " " "
	3. How are Aboriginal people named? By whom? What are the implications of this naming for identity?	3. " " "
	4. What are the models of an Aboriginal world offered by Aboriginal people?	4. Interviews, discussions with Aboriginal reality definers
	5. In the sub-structure of education, how do reality definers theorize about education? How do Aboriginal people theorize about education?	5. Interviews with school personnel; Schedule III responses.

The Theory: Area II Interaction between social structure and the 'worlds' in which people live

Theoretical component	Research questions	Methodology
Objective 'worlds' of Aboriginal people, typifications, sedimentation of typifications, institutionalization of typifications	1. What are the typifications of Aborigines by non-Aborigines?	1. Survey of literature.
	2. What are the typifications of Aborigines sedimented into Aboriginal world?	2. Survey of literature - supplemented by interviews.
	3. What are the typifications in the 'world' of schools by Aborigines and white students?	3. Schedule 1 - non-Aboriginal response. School student data sheets.
	4. Is there internalisation by Aborigines of white typifications?	4. Schedule 1 Aboriginal response.

The Theory: Area III *Interaction between self and society, between social structure and psychological reality*

Theoretical component	Research questions	Methodology	
Psychological appropriation of identity	1. What are the typologies of identity accepted - ego-identity/negative identity, identity-diffusion?	1. Schedule II statements:	
		45, 54, 18, 26, 3, 38, 29, 36, 7	positive identity
			v
		22, 52, 31, 16, 32	negative identity
			v
		33, 41, 46, 34	functional constancy
			v
			identity–diffusion
		2(a) Schedule II statements:	
	2. What evidence is there of Aboriginal values that are specifically Aboriginal?	8, 21, 25, 35, 43	'Aboriginal values
		2(b) Schedule III	
	3. What is the nature of the identials securing identity?	3. 53, 48, 17, 42, 40, 60, 23, 57, 50, 11, 13, 15	identials
	4. Has there been an internalization of aims of Government policy?	4. Interviews - reality definers	
	5. How do Aboriginal people locate the self in family/groups?	5. Schedule IV	

CHAPTER VIII

THEORIZING ABOUT THE ABORIGINAL WORLD BY MAINSTREAM SOCIETY PRE-1967

We now turn to examine the symbolic universe within which urban Aboriginal people are located by mainstream society as it is found in Government legislation, policy and practice.

8.1 Hypothesis I

It is hypothesized that there are not different models of Aboriginal worlds conceptualized by mainstream society, that the conceptual machinery of nihilation has been employed historically to locate Aboriginal people outside mainstream society, and that the boundary formed to locate Aborigines as a group is a boundary from without.

8.2 Theorizing about the Aboriginal world by the dominant society - the conceptual framework

Berger and Luckmann (1966:122) point out that machineries of universe maintenance become necessary when aspects of the world of meaning become problematic rather than taken-for-granted facticities.

Thus, within a society, those who not merely commit deviant acts, but embrace a deviant life style, throw into question the symbolic universe accepted by the majority as the only possible inevitable universe. In defence of its structures, the society then takes steps to articulate its universe of meaning through a theoretical systemisation which shows it as the only possible acceptable universe. In naive societies this happens through the articulation of mythologies. In developed societies legitimations have been, and are, articulated through the sciences - philosophy, theology, the natural sciences and the social sciences.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:130) dwell on two particular forms of conceptual machinery for the maintenance of a symbolic universe - therapy and nihilation.

Therapy is a machinery devised to ensure that deviants remain within the institutionalized definitions of reality. Theories of deviance and treatments of deviance, in a particular society, will have related therapies which will vary according to the psychological model held by a particular society. For some situations exorcism will be appropriate therapy, for others the appropriate therapy may be psycho-analysis or counselling.

The incorporation of deviance, theoretically, within the symbolic universe and the provision of therapy, entails that the threat to the reality of the symbolic universe is removed.

Nihilation is conceptual machinery which works towards the same end, namely the preservation of the universe of meaning of the dominant group. It does this, however, by denying any status to meanings outside its own symbolic universe. This machinery is used against individuals or groups foreign to the society and therefore ineligible for therapy.

> First, deviant phenomenon may be given a negative ontological status, with or without therapeutic intent. The threat to the social definition of reality is neutralized by assigning an inferior ontological status and thereby a not-to-be-taken-seriously cognitive status, to all definitions existing outside the symbolic universe (Berger and Luckmann, (1966:132-33).

Two courses are then open: the society may liquidate physically what it has liquidated conceptually, or, having nihilated the symbolic universe of the deviant group, it may devise a therapy to integrate the deviants into the dominant group.

The thesis outlined above will be examined, namely,

1) that the conceptual machinery of nihilation has been applied to Aborigines in Australia by means of legislation and policy,

2) that such nihilation will be supported by appropriate forms of legitimation,

3) that such legislation and policy promote negative typifications,

4) that the boundary constructed for Aboriginal society, within which Aboriginal people find identity, is a boundary from without, imposed not by Aborigines themselves, but by the dominant society and,

5) that a particular manifestation of such a boundary from without is found in naming.

In the following section there will be an examination of:

1. Government legislation up to 1967 (the year of the Referendum on Aborigines)

2. Government policy/theorizing with reference to nihilation and therapy as conceptual machinery for the purpose of control up to 1973, the year of the advent of the Labor party into power

3. The implications of this legislation and policy for Aboriginal identity.

The policies for identification/naming before the Referendum and their implications for identity will be examined in Chapter IX. Contemporary legislation, policy and practice will be examined in Chapter XI.

8.3 Government Legislation pre-1967

Two important areas of legislation which affected the lives of Aborigines are Land Acts and Social Legislation.

8.31 Land Acts

Gale (1964, 1972); Rowley (1971); Jenkin (1979) discuss in detail legislation that deprived Aboriginal people of their land: Foundation Act of 1834; Waste Land Act (British Parliament), 1842; Waste Lands Act (South Australian Legislature), 1937; Pastoral Act, 1936-1969.

Apart from the injustice perpetrated, the Acts had two results - one was that, in depriving the people of their land they were deprived also of the means of gaining food. They were made

dependent. Moreover, through dispossession of their traditional lands, they were prevented from pursuing a life-style that grew out of their Law which touched on every aspect of their life and provided a framework for their cultural identity.

Aborigines driven off their land were not wanted in the towns. They were relegated to reserves where, with a 'limited charity', rations were dispensed (Rowley, 1971:11). Because of the inability of the reserves in South Australia to support the Aboriginal population (Jenkin, 1979; Wundersitz, 1979), employment gradually became either meaningless 'busy-work' on the reserve, or seasonal employment, such as shearing or grape-picking, that took people away from their families. Where the people had been nomads[1] and possessed a tradition of 'going walkabout' to seek food, traditionally the whole family moved. In the new imposed mode of living (and employment) which separated families, structures of family life were damaged.

The scene was set by such legislation for a typification of the Aborigine unable to stick at a job, of the male lacking authority in the home, of the people dependent, expecting handouts, of people with a disorganized life-style.

This indirect effect of land legislation was compounded by social legislation aimed at countering the evils which appeared once the people had been dispossessed and their tribal social structures destroyed.

8.32 Social Legislation

The Aborigines Act of 1911 legitimated the practice of the missions which had segregated Aborigines from mainstream society. In 1914 the South Australian Government assumed control of Point McLeay and Point Pearce as Government reserves. The Government

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[1] The Ngarrindjeri (Pt. McLeay) people, one of the main groups to migrate to Adelaide, had not been nomads (Jenkin, 1979).

took responsibility for the following reserves in the sixties: Amata, Indulkana, Gerard, Koonibba.

On the reserves, in the personal sphere, codes of conduct were no longer subject to tribal authority. They were made the subject of legislation which invented a deviancy and a delinquency[1] which were specific to Aboriginal people. Managers of reserves had immense power which could be used quite capriciously.

Practices which grew up wherein all autonomy was removed from the people were codified in the 1911 Aborigines Act. Under the Act, Aborigines became minors, their children taken from them.

The chief Protector became the 'Guardian of every Aboriginal and half-caste child', a not unexpected corollary of a situation where policy separated families.

The 'protector' was entitled to

> ... inflict summary punishment by way of imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days, upon Aborigines and half-castes living upon a reserve or within the district under his charge, who, in the judgement of such protector are guilty of any crime, serious misconduct, neglect of duty, gross insubordination or wilful breach of any regulation (Aborigines Act, 1911, Section 10).

Regulations under the Act, promulgated in 1917 and 1919, added further 'crimes' specific to Aborigines. Under the regulations Aborigines could be summarily fined for not closing a gate or for being untidily dressed. The time of rising in the morning was stipulated. For failing to obey an order an Aborigine could be fined ten pounds or gaoled, with or without hard labour, for two months.

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[1] A parallel case may be found in the Rise and Fall of the Child Saving Movement (Platt, in Cosin, et. al., 1971), where particular deviances were shown to have been invented for lower class children by middle class women.

The chief Protector could cause any 'Aboriginal' to be moved to a reserve or Aboriginal institution (secs. 17-21) and he could assume control of the property of any 'Aboriginal' (sec. 35). There were penalties to be imposed upon people who unlawfully entered a reserve (sec. 20) or who caused an 'Aboriginal' to leave one (sec. 21). The Act imposed strict segregation upon nearly all Aborigines. Section 34a made it an offence for a male, not of Aboriginal descent, to associate with a female who had any Aboriginal ancestry.

Under the 1911 Act, Aborigines could be subject to curfews and to restriction of movement in towns. These restrictions were confirmed in the 1939 Act in South Australia which

> ... gave the Board power to remove Aborigines to reserves and keep them there, prevented entry by unauthorised persons and made it an offence to assist or entice them to escape. It enabled the Board to remove camps from the vicinity of towns and to remove individuals for 'loitering' or being improperly clothed. Towns could be proclaimed prohibited areas (Rowley, 1971:50).

The stereotype for Aborigines was clear. Charles Perkins (1975:17) relates his own experience in Alice Springs, then administered by South Australia.

> We had to stay there. We were not allowed in Alice Springs after dark, only for the pictures on Saturday night. That rule has relaxed a little over the years ... But before the idea was simple: 'Keep the street clean of Aborigines'. That was the way we had to live - as scum, the unwanted.

Aborigines were separated socially from those with whom they worked or played sport. Perkins (1975:55-56) relates

> I would go into a pub with the cricket team and the barman would say, "Listen darkie, you know you don't belong in here. If you don't get out, I'll get the copper on to you!"

Sir Paul Hasluck (1942, quoted in Gale and Brookman, 1975:31) could rightly comment that the system confined "the native within a legal status that has more in common with that of a born idiot than of any other class of British citizen".

The Aborigine was stereotyped as 'idiot', of low intelligence, as a child who must be protected, his movements restricted, his liberty curtailed, a person socially unacceptable. Jenkin (1979:246) notes that the only other people who could be treated in this way were lunatics or criminals. Perkins (1975:188) complains "It is a crime to be an Aborigine in Australia". For the Aborigines, having a dark skin was all the evidence needed for them to be segregated and made subject to a series of laws and regulations different from that of the white population.

The courts were given power to decide on sight, that is by skin colour and physical features, whether an individual was Aboriginal (Rowley, 1971:45).

The typification and institutionalisation of Aboriginal crime was also found in a separate strand of social legislation concerned with the supply of liquor to Aborigines.

The 1891 Licensing Act had made it an offence for anyone to sell, give or supply liquor to Aborigines. The Act was amended in 1915 when a penalty was imposed on the Aboriginal person found in possession of liquor, or drinking liquor. This legislation led to a further invasion of privacy and further demeaning situations. Rowley (1971:54) points out (and individuals remember - Tatz, 1975:52) that police could enter an Aborigine's house without a warrant and arrest a person *in his bed* for drunkenness.

Millar and Leung (in Berndt, ed., 1971:92) make the comment that the inclusion in the Licensing Act of special clauses relating to Aborigines helped to create a drinking pattern for them. They were forced to drink in seclusion for fear of being caught by the police. They drank quickly to lessen the chance of detection.

These laws, which Millar and Leung see as creating patterns of drunkenness, grew out of a typification of Aborigines as 'drunks' by the Protector of Aborigines. The Report of 1867 mentioned several cases of drunkenness. The Annual Reports of 1867-1891 showed the average number of Aborigines charged with drunkenness as thirty - less than one a week. One would hardly see this as a crisis situation needing restrictive laws to be passed.

Ironically, the essence of the injustice is highlighted in the wording of the 1962 Bill for the new Aboriginal Affairs Act, following the repeal of laws making provisions for exemption from the Aboriginal Act.

> The time has come to remove progressively the restrictions and in turn place upon Aborigines generally and persons of Aboriginal descent the responsibility for their own conduct and the observance of ordinary law. (South Australian Statutes, Adelaide, 1962, no. 45, Elizabethae ii Reginae, Aboriginal Affairs Act, pp. 134-146),.

The responsibility for the conduct of Aborigines, with respect to drink, could well be attributed to Government legislation. Paradoxically, the right to drink came to be seen as the 'right to be human', increased the drinking of Aborigines, and made the problem more visible.

One of the amendments to the 1939 Act in South Australia provided for exemption from the Act for some who could meet certain qualifications.

> In any case where the Board is of the opinion that any Aborigine by reason of his character and standard of intelligence and development should be exempted from the provisions of this Act, the Board may, by notice in writing, declare that the Aborigine shall cease to be an Aborigine for the purpose of this Act (Aborigines Act 1934-1939, Section IIa).

Clearly, legislation for Aborigines in general was intended to be seen as articulated for people who did not fulfil the requirements, that is, people of bad or indifferent character, of low standard of intelligence and development. By derivation all Aborigines had these characteristics since those who were considered

not to possess these negative traits could be declared exempt from being an Aborigine. The legislation thus located Aboriginal identity within a negative symbolic universe.

Those Aborigines who had lived in white society before the Act of 1939 now found themselves, unless they carried a certificate of exemption, viewed as less than white citizens, subject to special legislation that made certain things 'crimes' for them, though not for someone who had applied for exemption or their non-Aboriginal next door neighbour, or their non-Aboriginal partner on an assembly line.

This legislation contained within itself the implication that if, 'in order to be treated like a human being' (the phrase recurs again and again in conversation and is interchangeable with 'being treated like a white'),[1] individuals applied for and were granted an 'exemption', they had to cut themselves off from their family, their kin, their place of birth, their culture, and indeed their Aboriginal identity.

An Aborigine who had been declared 'exempt' could not visit a reserve without permission. Mrs. G. Elphick (in Berndt, R. ed., 1971:102) states that she had to obtain permission to attend her mother's funeral; another family negotiated for three days to take their mother to a reserve for burial.

8.33 Summary

A review of legislation passed with reference to Aborigines can be shown to nihilate the world of meaning of the Aboriginal people.

All the characteristics of the people were transformed by law into negative characteristics.

The people were made dependent and then treated as if they were dependent and passive by nature, their negative and anomic characteristics ontological.

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[1] See also Perkins (in Tatz, ed., 1975:40, 49).

The people were deprived of their land and their source of food, and were treated as if they were bad providers, always looking for handouts.

They were forced to seek seasonal employment and were typified as unreliable at keeping jobs, unreliable as an authority figure in the home.

Social legislation took away the autonomy of the people and then treated Aborigines as inferior, as lacking in intelligence, as having perpetually the status of a minor, as having disorganized family structures, as needing the restrictions imposed on criminals, lunatics or animals.

With reference to identity, the typifications contained within the legislation offered to Aborigines two possibilities:

1) Negative identity[1]
2) Identity diffusion

We shall now examine the various Governmental policies which were codified in the legislation described above.

8.4 Government policy: Management of Aboriginal society within the symbolic universe of the dominant society

The hypothesis is addressed that policy and practice, codified in legislation, created a world in which the sumbolic universe of Aborigines was nihilated and Aborigines themselves were typified negatively as the 'scum', the unwanted, the bottom-of-the-heap (Perkins 1975:17).

The theorizing, basic to policies concerned with the management of Aborigines up until 1967, may be categorised in terms of nihilation.

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[1] See Chapter III, p.31-32 above, for definitions. The interaction of Aboriginal people with the 'world' constructed for them, and their appropriation of identity, will be examined in Chapters XV, XVII and XXIV.

Policy arising from the theorizing may be categorised as segregation, dispersal and assimilation.

It is posited that the theorizing underlying these modes of managing Aboriginal people is based within the conceptual machinery of nihilation.

8.41 Conceptual nihilation

The Foundation Act of 1834, of South Australia, declared the land to be unoccupied territory.

The denial of the very existence of Aborigines made it possible to allocate land to white settlers, without the problem of acknowledging the rights of earlier occupiers of the land.

Katz and Braly (1935:191-2), in early research into stereotyping, posited that negative stereotyping of minority groups was used as a means of advancing the economic interests of the dominant group.

8.41 (i) Legitimation of nihilation by economic arguments

Economic interests as a basis for the legitimation of policy towards Aborigines forms a thread which continued to the forties.

In the early stages of the colony the self-interest of the settlers permitted, perhaps required, prejudice and discrimination, which permitted denial of rights, even denial of existence, so that landowners could rationalise the obtaining or increasing of their holdings at the expense of Aborigines.

Jenkin (1979:34) having discussed the inevitability of some developed country settling Australia sooner or later, and exculpating the settlers from deliberate malice in their dealings with Aborigines, summarises the issue in this way:

> These men of the emerging capitalist class were not concerned with humanitarian ideals: their purpose in life was to make money, and investment in South Australia was a most attractive method of doing so. If, in the process, a great many migrants should benefit, and the majority of the previous owners of the land should suffer then this was of little concern, since neither impinged greatly on the central issue, which was making a profit.

A legal denial of existence by the 1834 Act made the practices of early colonists easy to defend.

8.41 (ii) Legitimation of nihilation by 'scientific' arguments

The initial denial of existence of the people found in the Land Acts was legitimated in a different form at the turn of the century by 'scientific' theorizing that Aborigines were not human. The beliefs held about primitive peoples in general being sub-human were transferred to Australian Aborigines and strengthened, even in the face of contrary evidence, by writings in the spirit of Darwinism which led to nihilation of the Aboriginal world at the cognitive level.

Jenkin (1979:248) points out that pseudo-scientists looked to Aborigines as the 'missing link between apes and men'. However, *The Register*, an Adelaide newspaper of 17th June, 1914, made the following startling announcement:

> The native tribes of Australia are generally considered to be at the bottom of the scale of humanity ... and probably to be inferior in mental development to many of the stone-age inhabitants of Europe in prehistoric ages. Yet they have every right to be considered man.

HUMAN AFTER ALL

> Though infantile in intellectual development, the Australian natives are thoroughly human, as can readily be seen by the cubic measurement of their brains, 99.35 inches compared with that of a gorilla, 30.51 inches.

The damage of this absurdity lies not only in the arrogance of an in-group recognising another group 'as human after all',

'thoroughly human'. The people of Pt. McLeay of 1914 were well educated in comparison with white people of those times, and were avid newspaper readers (Jenkin, 1979:240, photographs, South Australian Archives). They would have been well aware of the 'scientific' decisions being made about them[1].

Such 'scientific' knowledge, that Aborigines were less than human could be seen as supporting not only conceptual nihilation, but also physical nihilation.

8.42 Physical nihilation

(i) Extermination

The countenancing of individual killings and massacres was supported by the 'scientific' findings at the turn of the century.

Ted Docker (in Reay, 1964:9-10) documents the attitudes of the white population to Aborigines, which allowed the dominant society to categorise Aborigines as less than human.

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1 The Advertiser, Adelaide 13th December 1909 commented on the speech of David Ngunaitponi, one of the Pt. McLeay Aborigines, in Adelaide, in the following way:

> But it was when the 'adult' David took the platform and spoke of the tradition of his people, of their knowledge of astronomy, their intimacy with the science of botany, their bushcraft and folklore that the audience gave most attention ... this civilised native spoke of the similarity of Greek mythology and the Aboriginal fiction (Jenkin, 1979:226).
>
> 'David has astonished the professors of Sydney and Melbourne by the breadth of his intelligence and his capacity for absorbing knowledge, and he has been a recognised authority on that branch of knowledge known as ballistics ... He has always been interested in mechanics. He made an improvement on ordinary sheep shears which proved very promising (quoted in Jenkin, 1979:234-5).

Ngunaitponi was not alone in his achievements.

> In 1928 a trooper of the Northern Territory Mounted Police cold-bloodedly shot down more than seventeen natives (his own admission) in what was supposed to be a round up of witnesses for criminal investigation. He was compared in an Adelaide newspaper to the Canadian mountie: "always rides alone, always gets his man".

Interwoven with the 'scientific' notion of Aborigines being less than human was a theological argument.

In the following section, there will be an examination of theorizing that Aborigines had no 'souls', a theorizing that permitted the massacre of Aboriginal people on a scale wide enough to see extermination as being countenanced on the part of policy makers, who remained passive in the face of wide-scale killing of Aboriginal people. That is, the earlier conceptual nihilation of the existence of Aborigines was carried to an ultimate conclusion in their physical nihilation.

8.42(i)

(a) Theological legitimation of physical nihilation

Archbishop Polding (quoted in Thorpe, 1950:262), appearing before a Parliamentary Committee on the Condition of Aborigines, 1845, gave as his opinion concerning the reasons for the great decrease in the numbers of the native people, "the aggressive manner of taking possession of their country".

> I myself have heard a man, educated and a large proprietor of sheep and cattle maintain that there was no more harm in shooting a native than in shooting a wild dog. I have heard it maintained by others that it was in the course of Providence that the blacks should disappear before the white, and the sooner the process was carried out the better for all parties. I fear such opinions prevail to a great extent. Very recently, in the presence of two clergymen, a man of education narrated as a good thing that he had been one of a party who had pursued the blacks in consequence of the cattle having been rushed by them and that he was sure they had shot upward of a hundred. When expostulated with he maintained there was nothing wrong with it, that it was preposterous to suppose that they had souls.

The people were given damper poisoned with corrosion sublimate,

driven from waterholes[1], murdered by the police themselves[2]. The history of extermination of the people of Tasmania is well documented[3].

The widespread incidents of extermination continued well into this century[4].

The force of racist policies of extermination and the stereotypes which supported them may be shown in their persistence.

8.42(i)

(b) Sedimentation of typifications

As late as 1969, Mr. Wentworth, replying to a question concerning statements made by a member of the Government, the member for Capricornia, was forced to admit that, while the Government did not support the statement, the member had in fact stated that Aborigines were second-class citizens, and that therefore they should submit to sterilisation, and that moral compulsion should be applied to make the people submit (Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, 1969:pp. 923-2174).

Sterilisation may be seen as a latter day form of extermination.

The Government does not, of course, either support or countenance such measures. Nevertheless, a climate of opinion that allows such attitudes to be voiced points to a sedimentation of typifications in contemporary white populations.

The attitude of councillors at Pt. Augusta has already been described[5].

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[1]Report of the Commissioner of Police, 5 June, 1885 (Jenkin, 1979:63).

[2]See J. Horner (in F.S. Stevens, ed., 1972:211-227).

[3]See, for example, Clive Turnbull (in F.S. Stevens, ed., 1972).

[4]Aboriginal people interviewed at Strelley remember graphically being present at incidents of mass killings. The people there believe that the giving of grog was part of a governmental policy of extermination (See also Rowley, 1970, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society).

[5]See p. 56.

The contemporary sedimentation of such policies of extermination is related by Turnbull (1972:233).

> People selling buttons in Melbourne streets for an Aborigine cause not long ago were astounded by the savagery of the answers given by some of those asked to buy - 'I'd rub the lot out', 'Give 'em bait' and so on, and these from people who had probably never seen an Aborigine.

The very use of the word 'bait' categorises Aborigines as animals. The comments revealed that the attitude of extermination, as a permitted activity, and the typification of Aborigines as less than human has been sedimented into attitudes of people far removed from those who actually did give Aboriginal people 'bait'.

A modified version of physical nihilation is found in the policy of segregation. Rowley (1971:182) saw the policy of segregation growing out of the conviction that 'there was no other way to avoid extermination'.

8.42 (ii) Segregation

Segregation may be seen as a particular form of physical nihilation. Gale (1972:39) states that the "phase of segregation had appeared before 1860, and from that time onwards the government took little responsibility for Aborigines". The power to segregate Aborigines in South Australia was contained in the 1939 Act[1]. The same provision was made in the 1962 Aborigines Act.

Segregation, in that it involved the removal of those deviating from mainstream norms from sight of the dominant group, was a form of denial and nihilation. In order for this to happen, initially, the construction of negative stereotypes seemed almost necessary to allow the settlers to displace the Aborigines, and their descendants to banish them from view[2]. Once negative stereo-

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1 See p. 91.

2 Nihilation by banishment has been used consistently to manage the problems of those having some form of stigma. Usually this stigma is allied to physical attributes. However, in Western Australia in the 1930s, the unemployed were seen as being stigmatised and were removed from sight into camps outside the city boundaries.

types established characteristics as being ontological, the white population was freed of further responsibility.

Certainly, for later generations in South Australia the Aborigine was allowed to impinge very little on white society[1]. In South Australia before the 1950s and even into the 1960s, many, if not most, urban people had never seen an Aboriginal person. They, like the Government officials, were able to deny stoutly and with clear conscience, racism in Australia.

Gale, (1972:48) asserts that the wave of establishment of reserves in the sixties (Amata, 1961; Davenport, 1963; Indulkana, 1967) and the transfer of responsibility of missions to the government (Gerard, 1961; Koonibba, 1963) mirrors the government actions of the first few years of settlement. She argues that, in the sixties, the wave of segregation was sparked by the newly discernible consciousness of Aboriginal identity. If such a consciousness of identity in fact were to be systematised, it would have called into question the policies and practices of over a century. The establishment of further reserves and the renewed segregation of the Aboriginal people may be seen as a measure to protect the symbolic universe of mainstream society.

Typifications constructed in the early days of settlement persisted in slightly modified form into the forties. The assumptions of the Land Acts legislation that Aborigines did not exist, the active extermination of Aborigines and their segregation, out of sight, led with ease to theorizing that Aborigines were a dying race. This theorizing could, in turn, be used as a basis for further isolating the people, nihilating their world of meaning, by advocating policies of isolation and dispersal, the former legitimated by economic advantage to the dominant group.

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1 See Rowley, 1971: passim; 1971b:22.

8.42 : (iii) Isolation and dispersal

(a) Full-blood Aborigines

Tindale, summarising research in part supported by the Government, talked of the full-blood Aborigines of South Australia as a dying remnant. He noted

> The full bloods in the settled districts are a diminishing group and will soon be extinct. Isolation of the surviving desert tribes which have not yet completely lost the old ways of living would be an economic advantage to the State of South Australia. It would enable the control of faunal pests and the effective occupation of a desert area which is a menace to the pastoral areas (Tindale, 1941:68).

Tindale would have thought of himself as humanitarian. Yet his solution for the tribal people did little to differentiate them from well-trained dogs, or some native animal promoting a balance in the wild - much as, in game parks, a mingling of animals preserves a balance. His solution was based on a widely held assumption, the belief (or wish) that Aborigines were dying out. He unashamedly posited the economic advantage of white people as a basis for banishment, physical nihilation.

8.42(iii) (b) Half-castes

On the question of half-castes, Tindale (1941:67) noted

> The problem of how to deal [with the half-castes who replace tribal people] is a difficult but not insoluble one. They are faced with the same problems as we are in nurturing their families securing education and finding a place in the community. They should not be treated as if they were a highly developed species of animal, to be viewed only as though they were inhabitants of a zoological garden. They should not be shut away in segregated (almost caged) communities.

The last two sentences are most revealing of the perception and treatment of Aborigines in the early forties when Tindale was writing - animals, inhabitants of zoological gardens echo the stereotype of subhuman, a stereotype based on the 'scientific' findings of the followers of Darwin, which found ready acceptance in a racist population.

Despite his desire to be humanitarian, Tindale was a man of his times in that he saw the Aboriginal problem not as one caused by white people, but one to be solved by white people, and solved by an act as inhuman as the treatment already accorded the Aboriginal people. He put forward a solution of 'dispersal' in the 1940s:

> It would appear that the more ready means of bringing about a process of physical and social assimilation of the Australian mixed bloods into the community would be by the simple device of ensuring that a maximum dispersal or spread of the minority group will take place (Tindale, 1941:119).

It should be noted that this particular version of 'assimilation' is a form of nihilation - the Aboriginal people are to disappear from sight.

The problem would disappear because Aborigines as a race would disappear - they would either become extinct or completely absorbed into the population by compulsory, 'maximum' dispersal. Such dispersal would lead to total assimilation.

> It may be accepted that two successive crossings with white blood the second accompanied by reasonable living conditions and normal education enables the grand-child of a full-blood Aboriginal woman to take a place in the general community (Tindale, 1941:115).

By the fifties assimilation had become official policy.

8.43 Assimilation as a policy

In 1951 Hasluck, the then Minister for Territories, reported to Parliament that the Native Welfare Conference held in Canberra

> ... agreed that assimilation is the objective of native welfare measures. Assimilation means, in practical terms, that, in the course of time, it is expected that all persons of Aboriginal blood or mixed blood in Australia will live like white Australians do (Hasluck, 1953:13).

In 1963 a further conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers was held in Darwin and resulted in a more detailed statement on the meaning of the policy of assimilation.

> The policy of assimilation means that all Aborigines and part Aborigines will attain the same manner of living as other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians (Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, Vol. iii, 1963, "Aboriginal Welfare, Conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers, Darwin, July, 1963", p. 651).

The statement goes on to acknowledge the conflict between such a policy and the existing legislation referring to Aborigines. It notes the fact that there was specific (restrictive) legislation for Aborigines and to the "rather loose use of the term 'citizenship'", but dismisses this by saying that

> ...such statutes can in no sense derogate from their citizenship in the sense of their status as Australian citizens.

Thus on the one hand Aboriginal people in 1963 in most states were not entitled to vote. On the other hand this was not to be seen as derogating from status as Australian citizens.

As late as 1964, Beazley, the member for Fremantle, was pleading for the need for all Commonwealth instrumentalities including the armed services, to pay Aborigines employed by them a wage at least equivalent to the award rate as fixed by the Arbitration Commission for a worker similarly employed who was covered by awards, and for the need for the extension of the protection of Australian Commission awards to Aborigines employed privately in the Northern Territory (Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives 25 February - 16 April, 1964, Vol. H. of R. 41, pp. 821-822).

In the debates, the emphasis both by Hasluck and Beazley is on the avoidance of the creation of differences. This developing notion of difference is an indication of the stirring of consciousness of identity. It made a protest concerning the injustice to which Aboriginal people had been subjected; at the same time, the noting of differences by the white world gave recognition to the existence of Aborigines.

It is posited that such a recognition of the existence of Aborigines brought about a change in the conceptual machinery seen as appropriate for controlling the Aborigines. Their insistence on being heard, their insistence of their recognition by the white world, made them eligible for therapy. Therapy, that is, 'treatment' of a deviant group to integrate their symbolic world into mainstream society, became the more appropriate machinery for mainstream society, since nihilation, and the stilling of the Aboriginal voice, had ceased to be effective.

The developing awareness of the growing restlessness of Aboriginal people, as their perception of injustices issued into political activism, led, in the sixties, to this difference in the conceptual machinery being applied to them.

As Aboriginal people supported by some whites spoke out against injustice, their existence could no longer be denied. Nor, however, could the exercise of rights by Aboriginal people be tolerated.

Such exercise of rights was categorised as black power which was raised as a spectre, and condemned. Assimilation was proposed as an antidote, that is, Aboriginal stirrings would be contained within mainstream society.

In 1967 a Referendum was held, giving the Federal Government the responsibility to legislate for Aborigines. In 1968, that is, after the Referendum, in answer to a question in Parliament about Aborigines and 'black power', Wentworth, Minister for Social Services and Aboriginal Affairs, replied:

> I am aware of the disruptive attempts of certain people to create differences of opinion and outlook between our Aboriginal people and the people of white descent. I deplore these efforts. I deplore entirely the efforts of certain people to create in Australia as they have succeeded in creating in the United States, differences that could lead to violence. I assure the Honourable Member and the House that the Government will do everything in its power to provide for the advancement of our Aboriginal people,

> to ensure that they receive justice in every way and to prevent the emergence of conditions that could be used as an excuse for creating differences in the Australian community. The government regards the Aboriginals as Australians in the same sense as all other Australian citizens (Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 1968, Vol. H of R. 58:886).

The fact that Wentworth needed to make the statement - "The government regards the Aboriginals as Australians in the same sense as all other Australian citizens" - shows two things:

(i) The Aborigines had previously NOT been regarded in this way;

(ii) The Aborigines were now NOT to be different. They were to be assimilated.

Nevertheless, even the avowed process of assimilation demanded an initial nihilation of the Aboriginal world of meaning, with a subsequent redefinition of Aboriginal people, in order to make them eligible for assimilation into white society. Such a redefinition also made them eligible for therapy.

No longer could the world of Aborigines be nihilated. On the contrary, it had to be recognised and absorbed, and new conceptual machinery established.

Those Aborigines who demanded rights were no longer to be 'Aborigines', but were given a new negative redefinition. They were 'apostles of class hatred' (i.e., communists).

The assertion of Aboriginality in the setting up of a Black Embassy in Canberra in 1972 was seen as threatening the dominant group.

In 1972, in a Senate debate, Dr. Mackay nihilated the activities of those Aborigines working to present their grievances to Parliament.

> ... at our very doors the apostles of class and race hatred have stirred up many good people to support a cause which is aimed at the creation of apartheid and race friction.
>
> The government is not prepared to see a separate race within a race developed in Australia with an embassy from the Aborigines to the Government of Australia as though this were a foreign power.
>
> Like all other groups within our widening society, we welcome their participation and their political aspirations as part of a family, not as aliens holding the nation to ransom. (Commonwealth Hansard, Appropriation Bill No. 1, Debate, Senate, 23rd August, 1972).

Assimilation now means the assimilation of political activity. The Aboriginal people were to be 'part of a family'. To accomplish this therapeutic intent of incorporation into the family, political activity had to be nihilated.

In the instance quoted, the credibility of the Aborigines' grievances was further destroyed by aligning them, not only with apostles of class and race hatred (read Communists), but with Labor politicians. Mackay continued his speech:

> But once again Labor stands, in most of its expressions, with the apostles of radical and even violent action to divide and denigrate this nation in our own eyes and in the esteem of the world.

The notion of exercising of human rights by Aborigines as a group was nihilated. Therapy was proposed as the appropriate conceptual machinery to control Aborigines. The form of therapy was to assimilate the Aboriginal people "into the same customs beliefs, hopes and *loyalties*"[1]. The beneficiaries were to be the majority group who would thus be freed of the criticism of an outgroup.

While Commonwealth Government policies changed with the advent of the Labor Government in 1973, earlier policies continued to be applied in Queensland, and to a lesser extent in Western Australia. As late as 1982, Bjelke Petersen, Premier of Queensland, set out

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1 See p. 105 above, Aboriginal Welfare Conference, Darwin, 1963.

to exorcise the spectre of politicised Aborigines seeking their rights. The machinery of nihilation used was that of associating activism with black power and communism.

Bjelke-Petersen was reported in *The Australian* (2/4/82) as informing State Parliament that there was a communist plot in Australia, involving militant black activists, aimed at gaining political control of Australia.

The Premier claimed that the object of the Aboriginal Land Rights Movement was to create a separate black nation within Australia and cause disruption and division within the Australian community. The activists were dubbed puppets of the communist cause.

A report in *The Advertiser* (Adelaide 25/4/82) commented on an assessment that the operations of a team from the World Council of Churches investigating Aboriginal conditions was a "communist operation"[1].

While such claims are seen as outrageous, they are not isolated. They repeat arguments, methods of control, put forward over the previous decade.

It can be argued that physical assimilation and political assimilation are aimed at the same ends. The seeking of rights was offensive in that it called into question the policies and practice of mainstream society. Nevertheless, the very seeking of rights led to a transformation of policy. Aborigines were no longer to be segregated, but were to be contained by becoming 'part of a family'. Therefore, since a family has rights by ascription, not by achievement, the seeking of rights in the political arena points to the nihilation of such rights in the world of meaning of mainstream society, and as such was an affront to that society.

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1 See Appendix XIII.

Incorporation of Aborigines into mainstream society (a form of therapy)is predicated upon nihilation of the symbolic universe of Aborigines. The same strategy may be observed in the assimilation of activists into Government positions where activism can be contained[1].

Rowley (1971:35) provides a comment. In his view, assimilation in practice was an "effort to train the Aboriginal to make him less offensive to whites".

8.5 Summary

Conceptual nihilation

It is clear that, until the changes brought about by the Labor Government in 1973, following the Referendum of 1967, legislation and policy concerning Aborigines, viewed as part of a machinery to manage the Aboriginal minority group at the conceptual level, must be categorised within the framework of conceptual nihilation, at times permitting and legitimating physical nihilation.

The theorizing permitted murder, death through debilitation as people were pushed from their food gathering activities, and psychological debilitation as the Law was fractured, autonomy in the political and social areas removed, and adults became perpetual minors.

Negative typifications were constructed and institutionalized by the settlers. The power of the dominant group was strong enough to nihilate those descriptions of positive identity of the Aboriginal people which were extant.

Aboriginal people were seen as a 'problem' irritating white society. The mythology grew up that Aborigines were a problem because ontologically they were less than human: they would always be resistant to civilising influences. The problem of colour, proclaimed Bleakley, (1961) a former adviser to the Commonwealth

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[1] See p.183 below, where tradition-oriented people make this very point.

Government, is not only of the skin, but of the mind.

It has been argued above that the problem has its origins in 'colour of the mind' of white people, who constructed negative stereotypes, which were reinforced by negative attitudes and negative theorizing in order to achieve the nihilation of the Aboriginal world.

Rowley (1971) comments that it is hard for a Government to admit that the Aboriginal plight has been caused by racist policy. However, he argues that such an admission is implicit in a political readjustment.

Jenkin (1979:68) summarizes the situation by quoting from Cedric Flower:

> Having made the native people despicable it was easy and convenient to despise them.

CHAPTER IX

IDENTIFICATION/NAMING OF ABORIGINES BY MAINSTREAM SOCIETY, PRE-1967

South Australia is the best state in Australia. Don Dunstan's the one that helped us up the ladder, our Premier. He's put us on the map, mate. We's Kangaroos and emus, before that. We got counted since then. They counted every bullock and sheep in Australia but they never counted Aborigines. See? (Elphick, in Gilbert, 1977:100).

In Chapter VIII legislation and policy were examined as components of theorizing about the Aboriginal world by mainstream society.

A further powerful component of theorizing of the dominant group in society, which acts to structure the 'world' of meaning with which individuals interact, is that of 'naming'.

Naming bestows an identity by locating individuals within a particular group.

9.1 Identity and Identification

In the social construction of reality, the naming of an individual or group is seen as the prerogative of the dominant group in society, who are able to name minority groups from their point of view, and thus incorporate them into the symbolic universe of the majority groups in a manner seen to be of advantage to the latter.

Identity[1] has been defined as the location of the self in a particular world of meaning, both by the self and others, the recognition of one's self-sameness and continuity in time, the perception of the recognition of this self-sameness by others and the location of the self within a specific social structure.

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[1] See p. 36 above.

Identification is the process of recognition by the self and others, of location in a world and of the self-sameness of identity.

When there is not this perception the stage is set for a progress to identity-diffusion, that is the lack of success in in establishing identity brought about when one is unable to establish one's self-sameness.

It was argued in Chapter VIII that stereotyping arising from legislation and policy acted to socialize Aborigines into negative identity.

In the case of naming, it was hypothesized[1] that an examination of naming would be shown to reveal the lack of autonomy of the Aboriginal people, to nihilate their world of meaning, to locate their identity in racial categories within a negative identity.

It was further hypothesized that a syndrome of disturbance in identity formation has been caused by the process through which Aborigines have been identified, that is, that the dominant society, by constantly changing the criteria and manner of identification (that is, by changing the criteria for self-sameness), has created a situation leading to identity-diffusion for Aboriginal people, preventing them from establishing a satisfactory identity.

This hypothesis will now be examined, through a scrutiny of the criteria used for identification for census purposes and the criteria and processes of identification found, in general, in government policy and practice before 1967.

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[1]Hypothesis 1.2, p. 42.

9.2 Naming/Identification by means of census categories

Rowley discussed the implications for conceptualisation of the Aboriginal 'world' implicit in the construction of census categories:

> It is suggestive that so little is known of the demography of this sector of the population. Even the census figures do not help much, because those of over half-Aboriginal descent have been excluded from census, while those thought to be less than half-caste, (the census term) were counted with the non-Aboriginal population. The figures do offer some indication of relative population densities as between census divisions, but provide little more than a basis for guessing how many people belong to Aboriginal groups. The census categories of Aboriginal and half-caste could not be so well defined as to offer precise information - another indication that the part-Aboriginal has been regarded by governments as a phenomenon of transition rather than as an end in himself. The 'solution' of the Aboriginal 'problem' would come when he disappeared altogether into a 'white' community without coloured enclaves (Rowley, 1971:3).

The construction of census categories thus acted to nihilate the Aboriginal world. Those people more than half-Aboriginal were not counted at all. Those less than half-caste were 'white'. Aborigines, then, if they existed at all, were half-castes.

The term half-caste, however, had come to lack any precision at all and had become simply a derogatory term applied to coloured people and internalised by them as a negative identification.

> Our people own Australia, mate. Australia that's what I'm trying to tell you ... it's the first Garden of Eden. It belongs to the Aboriginal, our ancestors. I don't know what nationality you are, but look at me. I'm not an Aboriginal. The only Aboriginal is the full blood Aboriginal, eh? I'm what you call a bastard. A breed. A half-caste (Doug Young, in Gilbert, 1977:143).

Rowley pointed out the logical conclusion of this categorisation: the solution to the Aboriginal problem was that the part-Aborigine was to disappear - in other words, the solution inherent in census categories was one of nihilation.

Broom and Jones (1973:90) showed that any organization of data to be used as a basis for Aboriginal policies suffered from the fact that not only was there under-reporting and mis-reporting but the information gathered was based on divergent definitions of who was an Aborigine.

> The annual Reports of Aboriginal Boards in the states and Northern Territory are notable for their incompleteness, non-comparability and self-serving blandness (Broom and Jones, 1973:74).

The lack of anything approaching precision in census categories was consistent with Government policies in general.

9.3 Government Policy on the identification of Aborigines

The identification of an individual as Aborigine or part-Aborigine was the result of changing Government policy - policy that changed from state to state, and from state to Commonwealth; policy that changed from one government to another; policy that changed within the platform of any one political party.

Research carried out by Schapper (1970) in Western Australia and Stevens (1974) in the Northern Territory highlight the confusion that existed in the identification of Aborigines.

Schapper outlined the Western Australia basis for categorisation of Aborigines.

> The Aborigines Protection Act, 1886, extended the definition of Aboriginal from full-bloods to include half-castes and the child of a half-caste where such child habitually associates and lives with Aborigines (Schapper, 1970:13).

The definition used by Schapper was derived from that used by the Western Australian government.

> This definition includes any person with more than one quarter Aboriginal blood. This is not the same as the definition used for the Commonwealth census

> nor that used by all other State governments, nor that which would necessarily be accepted by all individuals of Aboriginal ancestry. The reason for using the Western Australia's government's definition in this study is that for the person in Western Australia so defined, the government has statutory responsibility (Schapper, 1970:155).

And again

> The definition of 'Aboriginal' has varied from one Commonwealth census to another and none is the same as that used by the Department of Native Welfare of the Government of Western Australia. The number of Aborigines in Western Australia included in the 1966 census figure for the Aboriginal population refers to those persons who described themselves 'as being 50 per cent or more Aboriginal, or simply Aboriginal'. For the Department of Native Welfare a 'native' is any person with more than one fourth Aboriginal blood (Schapper, 1970:157).

In the Northern Territory, at that time administered by South Australia, between 1954 and 1972 anyone other than a 'full blood' was classified as 'white'.

Stevens (1974), investigating Aborigines in the Northern Territory cattle industry, noted the problems of employers and welfare personnel in identifying employees as Aborigines.

While part of the confusion was due to the complexity of the laws, part was due to arbitrary categorisation.

Stevens (1974:II) gave the following account of the problems encountered by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court when attempting to identify workers in relation to a discussion on an application for equality in wages.

> Counsel for the Union: In case there is any ambiguity about the use (of the term) 'white man' in this connection it may be that (counsel for the employees) and the witness are at cross purposes. *In this district* a half-caste counts *for these purposes* as a white man. Witness: That is so, but this one was not a half-caste (Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, no. 830d, 1965, p. 255).

Tatz detailed the following bewildering identification of Aborigines in Queensland.

> In Queensland, until 1972, Aborigines were full-bloods, persons with a preponderance of full-blood, part-Aboriginal spouses of Aborigines already defined - and residents of reserves. Part-Aborigines were those with one full-blood parent and one with no strain of the blood of the indigenous inhabitants, and those of both whose parents have a strain of blood and who themselves have no more than 25 percent of such blood (Tatz, 1979:83,84).

In South Australia, before 1962, an Aborigine was a person of full or part descent who had not been specially exempted. After 1962 there were two categories; Aboriginal and person of Aboriginal blood.

Returning to the definition of identity as a perception of one's self-sameness and continuity over time, a scrutiny of policy and practice establishes the fact that Aboriginal people were not permitted the possibility of perception of self-sameness as either Aborigines or non-Aboriginal.

Aboriginal people were 'named', 'identified' as non-Aboriginal or Aboriginal by the dominant society on a variety of changing criteria. It was a situation which could only lead to the utmost confusion for the individual thus identified.

9.4 Identification: Government practice in identifying Aborigines

Government policy on identification before 1967 could only be categorised as arbitrary and serving the interests of the dominant group.

When it was opportune to enforce the policy of segregation those with a 'strain' of 'blood', (i.e. those visibly coloured) were held to be Aborigines and were relegated to reserves. They were physically nihilated by being removed from view.

Nevertheless rejection and relegation to reserves was not consistent. When economic problems arose, identification could temporarily change and of those who had been confined to reserves, the lighter coloured were identified by the dominant group, and required to identify themselves as white, or non-Aboriginal.

During the depression at the end of the nineteenth century, decisions were made whereby people in Victoria formerly classed as part-Aborigines now became part-European and were expelled from reserves. All half-castes considered capable of earning their living were expelled from reserves to towns (Barwick, 1963:99).

Similarly, in South Australia, in 1905 there was a temporary redefinition of the identity of people at the Point McLeay mission. Fourteen skilled part-Aborigines became part-'Europeans' and were expelled to get work in outside employment. In the event, white people refused to employ them, or work with them, and they were returned to an Aboriginal identification (Jenkin, 1979:212).

Definitions of Aboriginal people as part-European in order to expel them from reserves were framed in face of evidence that the people, even if skilled and qualified, could often not get jobs because of prejudice and discrimination.

The Aborigines Act was interpreted and administered differently from one period to another depending on the interests of the dominant group.

In South Australia the Act of 1911 and the later Act of 1939 designed to 'protect' Aborigines, in fact impinged on their freedoms, and segregated them from white society. The Act not only gave power to remove the ageing to reserves but also gave the power to remove all Aborigines to reserves and from towns, which could be declared prohibited areas. Aboriginal children had to be removed from schools if white people objected.

Later, in war years, when labour was needed, the policy was ignored and the drift of Aborigines to the cities was countenanced,

since in the circumstances of that time the mainstream economy could profit from Aboriginal labour.

Some of the consequences of the inconsistency and fluidity of identification are illustrated by Barwick.

Barwick (quoted by Rowley, 1971:44), through a study of records, established cases where the same person was at different times categorised as 'full-blood', 'half-caste', 'three-quarter-caste', each category bringing with it subjection to different legislation which imposed different levels of restrictions on personal liberty and a different identity.

Aboriginal people had no power to identify themselves.

An individual's self-identification could be contradicted by a white official.

Despite the fact that an individual identified himself as Aboriginal in accordance with the terms of the Act, such self-identification by Aborigines could be overruled by the personal judgement of an official, based on stereotypes of what did or did not pertain to the state of 'Aboriginality' in the personal view of the official.

Where there was some doubt of classification, the magistrate made up his mind by sighting the person in question (Rowley, 1971:4).

The possibility of 'interpreting' the definition according to a personal judgement based on appearance, points clearly to the rejection of Aborigines on the basis of colour and physical attributes, and to the arbitrary nature of such identification.

In practice, the contradiction of a person's self-identification by officialdom had the effect of defining Aboriginal identity as negative and delineating the characteristics of Aboriginality as negative.

Tatz quotes the case of a Perth magistrate hearing the case of a person making a self-identification as Aboriginal, before the

court on a charge of failing to register for National Service from which Aborigines were exempt:

> There's no evidence of him living in a native camp, and he apparently lives at a normal address in Perth. I must also take note of his appearance. He is well-dressed and well-presented. I'm going to convict him (Tatz, 1979:84).

According to the magistrate's definition, Aborigines lived on reserves, at not-normal addresses, were badly dressed, and presented only negative characteristics.

Aboriginal identity was thus nihilated by being located by official identification in a totally negative universe of meaning. Conversely, if the dominant society needed him, in time of war, the Aborigine was not permitted to identify as Aborigine, since this was a negative identity and only those with positive identity were permitted to go to war. Ergo, the Aborigine for this purpose was no longer an Aborigine.

It would appear, that while 'blood' (presumably meaning the ability to trace ancestry) in theory was used as a basis for identification, in practice 'blood' was equated with colour as the basis of classification, a category that was also associated with culture (or sub-culture in the case of 'half-castes') which in turn was associated with negative attributes.

The negative nature of Aboriginality and its association with colour is shown by the fact that those Aboriginal people who had positive attributes and who were light enough to 'pass' as white could be 'exempted' from being Aboriginal. The 1939 Act of South Australia defined all people of Aboriginal descent as Aboriginal, unless, in the light of their character and standard of intelligence and development, they had been 'exempted'.

In other states, such exemption could be revoked (Rowley, 1971:48), adding further uncertainty to identification.

The identity card showing exemption had to be carried at all times to establish a person's right to be in an area where white people were found.

It is significant that the card came to be known by Aboriginal people as a dog licence - a term that encapsulated the Aboriginal view that they were seen as less than human by the dominant society.

A further consequence of the nihilation of positive Aboriginal identity by white people was that it made possible the manipulation of those Aboriginal people who came into contact with the white world as part of their aim to work to better the lot of the Aboriginal people. Such people were categorised as not-Aboriginal and therefore having no right to speak for Aborigines.

Tatz (1979:11) describes how Viner, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, rejected the right of Miller, (a self-identified Aborigine), to speak for Aurukun Aborigines. Undoubtedly, Miller was a self-appointed spokesman not designated by the elders of Aurukun[1]. Nevertheless, Viner could hardly have the right to say "I speak directly for the (Aurukun) Council".

Similarly, Senator Neville Bonner's right to speak for Aborigines at a political level was derided in the following account where Tatz (1979:11) quotes from the record of the Queensland Parliamentary Debates.

> *Mr. Hinze: Would you say that Senator Bonner is an Aborigine?*
> *Dr. Scott-Young: No. Senator Bonner claims to be an Aborigine.*
> *Mr. Hinze: Do you think he might be an Indian or an Afghan?*
> *Dr. Scott-Young: I do not know. He claims to be an Aborigine.*

Once an Aboriginal person was educated, or in a position having status, by definition he could no longer be an Aborigine. He could only claim to be an Aborigine. Real Aborigines were those with negative attributes.

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[1] On the question of spokesman in tradition-oriented groups, see p. 271 below.

Allied to the concept of identification is that of the nomenclature used. This issue will now be examined.

9.5 Nomenclature

The inconsistency and arbitrariness of identification is further illustrated by the lack of agreement even on nomenclature. The Aboriginal people have been variously designated as 'natives', 'Aborigines', 'aborigines', 'Aboriginals'.

A study of quotations used throughout this text, shows enormous variation in nomenclature whether it is academics writing, or governments stating policy. As late as 1964, Reay (1964:167) devoted several pages to the problem of what to call the people. Her efforts to establish an agreed form came to nothing; she "was told that the term 'Aborigine' had acquired in common usage, the status of a name in the absence of any other name".

Manifestly, while the dominant group had the power to name, and did name the minority group, the particular nomenclature used was a matter of indifference.

The indifference shown in naming mirrors the general indifference of the dominant group towards a nihilated, 'not-to-be-taken-seriously' group.

Aboriginal people perceived this indifference as a form of nihilation. Gilbert castigated whites

> ...as bastards ... [who] will not recognise the conditions of Aboriginal people, [who] will not live up to the ideals you profess - justice, humanity, decency. Aborigines stereotype whites as indifferent at best (Tatz ed., 1975:5).

Colbung stresses the indifference of whites towards Aborigines:

> White society says: 'You can have what we don't want' and this is how it goes - 'We don't want the reserves, give them back to the Aborigines'. Now

> they want the reserves back because they didn't build the Town Hall far enough away!. But they can't get the Aboriginal people back because of the wall of indifference they have built. The Great Wall of China, the Iron Curtain in Russia? They are nothing like the wall of indifference that Australia has towards the Aboriginal people (Colbung, in Tatz, ed., 1975:28).

The indifference Aborigines perceived was attested to by the lack of factual information about Aborigines already pointed out by Broom and Jones[1].

It was also reflected in the dearth of research in the social sciences other than anthropology.

9.6 Identification in social sciences research literature - pre-1967

Watts (1982), in her overview of research literature on Aboriginal identity, referred to the growing body of research in the seventies and the role of such literature in supporting the Aboriginal search for an Aboriginal identity.

Conversely, the lack of research literature, other than that in the discipline of anthropology before the sixties, can be attributed to the lack of interest of researchers in this area, indicating a lack of support for the people in the process of location of the Aboriginal self in a world of meaning.

Aborigines, if they were considered at all by researchers, were seen in terms of a problem. Even then the problem, in general, was seen in terms of economics - problems of occupancy of land wanted by settlers, of a people who were a strain on the economy once they had been dispossessed of their land.

For most white people in Australia, the plight of the Aborigines was not recognised as a social problem until the government articulated the policy of assimilation as a solution to the black problem, following upon the migration of Aboriginal people to the cities during and after the Second World War (Gale and Brookman, 1975; Rowley, 1971).

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[1]See p. 115.

With a few exceptions, the 'world' of Aborigines did not become a focus of interest for researchers in the fields of sociology and social psychology until the seventies.

This lack of research interest may be viewed as a further example of indifference on the part of the white world towards the Aboriginal worlds, an indication of the conceptual nihilation effected by society in general.

For most people, Aborigines were not a problem, simply because Aborigines did not impinge, were not allowed to impinge, on the general population.

Hill and Barlow (1978), in compiling a bibliography for teachers as a guide to resources on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, refer to Gale's 1972 study as the earliest sociological study of Aborigines in South Australia. If 1967, the year of the Referendum, is taken as a watershed, we have for South Australia, only two publications of note listed by Hill and Barlow in or before 1967. Of these one is anthropological, (Duguid, Charles, 1963, No Dying Race) and one historical, (Pike, Douglas, 1967, Paradise of Dissent). Thus,published sociological studies listed by Hill and Barlow are found only in the last ten years in South Australia.

The picture is much the same in other states[1].

Reay's (1964) book, Aborigines Now, marks a beginning of an interest in the 'worlds' of Aborigines. However, at that time, she still saw herself based in the anthropological tradition. She was concerned to tap the views of younger anthropologists.

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[1]Queensland is listed with four publications, none sociological before this date, N.S.W., three (history, legends); Tasmania, one (historical fiction); Northern Territory, six (biography, auto-biography, anthropology, ethnography, legends); Central Australia, five (photography, travel, anthropology); Western Australia, three (anthropology, fiction, documentary). The bibliography does not list unpublished works.

> Many of the younger anthropologists were questioning, in conversation, the ethical basis of the assimilation policy, and some were asserting that a policy change was needed ... I asked the authors to write something relevant to 'assimilation' and its implications for Aborigines (Reay, 1964:xv).

While Reay's own interests were anthropological the collection of articles reflected a distinct change of emphasis. The late sixties and early seventies were to see a burgeoning of research interest in the social sciences, where a number of people turned their attention to the 'worlds' of Aborigines. That contribution will be examined in Chapter XI.

9.7 Summary

Identification and naming as constructs of the dominant society defining Aborigines to suit the purpose of the white world, carried with them a definition of a 'world' of meanings with which Aborigines interacted, and a set of expectations about behaviour which they were expected to produce.

> Thomas' well known doctrine on the real consequences of social definition was presumably intended, and has generally been understood as intending, to say that once a 'reality' has been defined, people will act as if it were indeed so. To this important proposition must be added an understanding of the realizing (that is, reality-producing) potency of social definition (Berger, in Cosin, 1971:99).

Negative definitions of identity and negative attributes proposed by white society for Aborigines, and imposed on the latter, created for Aborigines a negative universe of meaning for establishing identity.

Constantly changing worlds of meaning provided a context for identity-diffusion with the attendant suffering contained in Vera Lovelock's cry: "Aborigines - they're very confused people"; "We've been thrown into confusion for 200 years" (in Tatz, ed., 1975:65,70).

The indifference of the white world was shown in the construction of census categories, in the application of census categories, in the nomenclature used; it was reflected in the lack of research interest, by and large, on the part of academics.

The interaction of Aboriginal people with the theorizing and naming of the dominant society will now be discussed, in Chapter X.

Contemporary theorizing and contemporary naming will be discussed in Chapter XI.

CHAPTER X

INTERACTION BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS: ABORIGINAL RESPONSE TO THE PRE-1967 CONCEPTUALISATION BY THE DOMINANT SOCIETY OF THE ABORIGINAL WORLD

10.1 Introduction

The denial of the presence of Aborigines in Australia through Land Acts and census categories was continued in historical accounts by a denial, a silence, about the resistance by Aboriginal people to the invasion of the colonizers, and the resistance by Aboriginal people to the destruction of their culture.

The typification of Aboriginal people has been one stressing the passive nature of the people.

The evidence points not to passivity, but to resistance to the incursions of the dominant group, whether these incursions were physical or whether they sought the nihilation of the symbolic universe of the Aboriginal people. The early history of Australia was written by white historians for a white world. It was silent about the resistance of Aboriginal people to alien power and culture.

10.11 Aboriginal response to mainstream theorizing - resistance as a form of interaction

(i) Physical resistance

Mullard (1980) charts the parameters of resistance by Aborigines to the world imposed upon them by the dominant white society.

He speaks (1980:2) of the cult of forgetfulness that conveniently allowed historians "a complete neglect or distortion of Aboriginal contributions or resistance to Australian development". Such 'forgetfulness' can be explained in terms of the machinery utilised to nihilate conceptually the Aboriginal world of meaning.

Writings in the sociology of knowledge (Stark, 1958:3) show how not only knowledge but all cultural forms are socially contexted. The frameworks for the writing of history and anthropology are socially contexted; the particular paradigm used to organize knowledge is contexted into the sedimented knowledge of the world of the historian, or the anthropologist.

The early accounts of Australian settlement were thus written from the point of view of the dominant group imposing its reality on history.

Hence the accounts of Australian colonization were either silent about Aboriginal resistance or, in order to preserve the symbolic universe of the dominant group, they identified resistance by conceptualising it as treachery, savagery[1].

Reynolds makes the assessment that the resistance offered would, inevitably, have been crushed:

> ... good intentions and benevolent policies notwithstanding, the very act of settlement implied that whenever the Aborigines confronted the encroaching newcomer they would be crushed; and that such action would generate a covert cultural resistance destined to last long after the frontier era remained (Reynolds, 1972:1).

Thus there were, until the seventies, two forms of black resistance - the early militant resistance in which Aborigines,

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[1] Reconceptualisation in this manner can be found in contemporary history. In 1982 a major diplomatic row erupted between Japan and China. The former rewrote the history of the Japanese invasion of China as benign 'advances' rather than 'aggression'. Massacres were attributed to the hostile (presumably unjustified) resistance of the Chinese.

Similarly, in visiting Peking in 1976 it was found that the museum of History was closed; the reason given was that scholars were rewriting the History of Chinese Revolution. A subsequent visit in 1979 showed that Chou en Lai had been raised to a new status, overshadowing Mao, consonant with the fall of the gang of four and the loss of Mao's stature.

History was being written from a different perspective with a kaleidascopic effect; a change in situation rotated the 'facts' to form a totally different picture.

in the end, were crushed, and the continuing passive resistance which both permitted survival and permitted a covert means of rejection of white people.

(ii) Cultural resistance

(a) Adaptation

The Aboriginal people were a subject people forced to adjust to white dominance. Some groups of Aboriginal people preserved traditional structures by adapting to circumstances through covert resistance.

Tonkinson (1974) describes how, at Jigalong, missionaries were *suffered*. The Aboriginal people preserved their way of life through adopting a stance of non-communication, a policy of passive resistance.

Much of the anthropological literature is devoted to a study of this process of adaptation. However, in situations where the contact with white people was more prolonged, passive resistance took the form of internalisation of a negative identity.

(b) Internalisation of negative identity

Lippmann documents the continuing resistance of Aboriginal people to white dominance.

> Though they could be said to be defeated in a military sense, in spirit they never have been. They became masters and mistresses of passive resistance and have remained so. They instituted a regime of non-co-operation, of silence, of lying and deliberate ingratitude. Examples of small-scale defiance and affronts to middle class mores in order to outrage their captors were frequent and often successful (Lippmann, 1981:28).

These measures of covert resistance acted not only to reject white society; the Aboriginal people, as a form of protest, internalised the negative identity offered to them by white society.

Fink speaks about alcoholism and of the institutionalization of negative typifications as a form of resistance.

> Such activities as gambling, drinking in excess, wasting money and neglecting homes and personal appearance all have the effect of emphasizing their social distance from white people. This type of reaction is an aggressive assertion of low status; it seems to say 'Look at me - I'm coloured and I'm dirty, drunken, lazy, irresponsible like they all say - that's my privilege because I'm coloured - I can do as I like because that is all they expect of me anyway' (Fink, 1957:103).

Fink's assessment is supported twenty years later by a rejoinder to Gilbert - "They think we're shit. So why not be shit?" (Gilbert, 1977:267). This choice of negative identity may be seen as a defence against identity-diffusion: it is a choice that reflects de Levita's statement (1965:31) that "many a person would, if faced with continuing identity diffusion, rather be nobody or somebody bad, or even dead - and this totally and by free choice, than be not quite somebody".

Mullard (1980:232) sums up the response of the Aboriginal people in the same terms, namely as a means of warding off anomie. "To resist is to exist".

10.2 Interaction of Aboriginal people with identification/naming by the dominant group

Because legislation for Aborigines was restrictive and dehumanising and the definition of Aboriginal identity was negative, some of those who were lighter in colour accepted the naming of the dominant group inherent in gaining an 'exemption', and passed from the 'world' of Aborigines to a white world.

10.21 'Passing'

Gale speaks of the "state of hopeless frustration" of the Aboriginal people in Adelaide, and for some (1972:46) the "compelling fascination motivating them to integration into European society" (Gale, 1972:45).

10.22 Confusion

The arbitrary nature of identification meant that some people

lived in a state of confusion about the particular identity being bestowed upon them at any one time. Vi Stanton remembered:

> Once you were exempted, you were classified as Europeans. A lot of people were confused about this. When you had forms to fill in you had to put E because you were not an Aboriginal. You didn't know where you were. You wouldn't say, 'well, I'm not a European and I'm not an Aboriginal', because the only two classifications were European and Aboriginal. Not so long ago some Aboriginals asked me what I was classified as now. I said I didn't know. Then some other Aborigines said, 'Do you know how you're classified by the Health Department?' I said, 'No', and they said, 'They still have 'E' and 'A'. But you're an 'M', that is that you are mixed' (Stanton, in Gilbert, 1977:15).

Vi Stanton went on to relate how her (white) husband was informed that, as she had never been 'exempted' from being an Aborigine, their marriage was against the law, (that is, the special provisions under the Aborigines Act), and the couple technically liable to prosecution, information that was profoundly disturbing and a source of anger for its recipient.

Changing legislation and changing policy created confusion and division; such changes were, and often still are, a source of tension among Aboriginal people and an obstacle to the formation of identity.

Clearly, Aboriginal people had no power to name themselves. They were named, identified, located in society by the dominant group, in a process of location that denied the self-sameness of individuals, denied the possibility of functional constancy.

Rather, the identification process structured a situation providing the elements for identity-diffusion for Aboriginal people.

10.23 Identity-diffusion

Some of those Aboriginal people who despaired of achieving a sense of self-sameness in the face of nihilation of their world of meaning, may be seen as succumbing to identity-diffusion in its extreme form, choosing death as an escape.

Aboriginal people talk spontaneously about 'the broken ones', 'the dead'.

These are the ones who state flatly as their reason for alcoholism - "I want to die"[1]. Thus escape from 'hopeless frustration' was seen by some to lie in abandoning Aboriginal society for white society.

The move towards white society may be viewed as a compulsion to escape from the vacuum of identity-diffusion. It is better to be white than to be nothing.

However, for some, the escape was from the situation of de-humanisation enshrined in the legislation of the various Acts which imposed restrictions on personal liberty that could only apply to minors, the insane, or animals.

Integration into white society was seen by some as an antidote to the fear of such oppression.

Vi Stanton pointed out that "It was put out in the 1950s that if you dared identify as an Aborigine you would come under the Protection of Aborigines" (Stanton, in Gilbert, 1977:8).

Smith and Biddle (1975:10) found the same reluctance of individuals to identify as Aborigines when a question was addressed as to the individual's status under the Queensland Acts. Those who, in interviews, had been identified by others, and identified themselves as Aborigines, on being asked a question relating to status under the Act, identified themselves as South Sea Islanders, Polynesians, Maoris, Singhalese, United States Blacks, or some other ethnic group, presumably through fear of the consequences of 'protection'.

The Aboriginal people were acutely aware of the significance

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1 Interviews, Pt. Augusta.

of the white attitudes reflected in the census definitions and in government policy. They gave meaning to the situation as implying that Aborigines were ontologically less than human; economically they were less important than animals (Elphick, in Gilbert, 1977:100). Politically, they were less than citizens. Legally, they had no rights and their protection was one that deprived them of dignity and autonomy.

'Passing' was a measure adopted to achieve a new status, that of being 'treated like a human being'. Nevertheless, despite the implication of being categorised as Aboriginal, some refused to be 'exempted' from this category (Perkins, 1975:55).

Those who were exempted came to be seen by other Aborigines as pseudo-whites who rejected their Aboriginality[1].

10.3 Development of a separate Aboriginal identity

Gale noted the beginnings of a search for identity among Aborigines.

She pointed out (1972:48) that, during the sixties, Aborigines increased in numbers, and, with their numerical increase they developed a new consciousness of identity.

It was her view that this growth in the Aboriginal concept of separate identity sparked off administrative reactions, issuing in the feverish opening of reserves in the sixties.

The administrative response provoked was thus one of continuing nihilation. However, there were some Aborigines already physically located within white society, already distanced from the reserve situation.

For some of these people, the awakening sense of identity promoted a withdrawal from the world of the dominant society as

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[1] This problem will be taken up again in Chapters XVIII and XXIII.

far as the location of identity was concerned, and a movement, inchoate in its beginnings, towards the development of a separate Aboriginal identity. Culturally, and in so far as identity was concerned, active resistance was to replace passive resistance with the possibility of socialization into a positive Aboriginal identity.

Changes taking place in Aboriginal attitudes were supported by the legislation of the late sixties in South Australia[1], when the Dunstan Government came to power. However, separate identity for Aboriginal people, in its emergent state was not clearly articulated as a concept. It was notional, emotional.

Ross Watson, speaking to Kevin Gilbert, asks a series of questions growing out of confusion, and a despairing need to come to grips not merely with the question of 'identifying' as an Aboriginal person but seeking to know, to understand, what can be the components of an Aboriginal identity, credible to an individual, which he can select out of the many Aboriginal identities offered him, and build on in order to attain to a personal identity.

For the Aborigine, who has been treated as a minor, as an adolescent under the law, the 'crisis' of identity usually thought of as an adolescent phase existed through his adult life.

> Few perceive, though, that these things (jobs, housing, health-services) can help but do not heal, for the thing at issue is the ruin of a frame of reference, a culture, and the consequent devaluation of individuals. Yet we can see the start of some slight search for 'Aboriginality'. But what is Aboriginality? Is it being tribal? Who is an Aboriginal? Is he or she someone who feels that other Aboriginals are somehow dirty, lazy, drunken, bludging? Is an Aboriginal anyone who has some degree of Aboriginal blood in his or her veins and who has been demonstrably disadvantaged by that? Or is an Aboriginal someone who has had the reserve experience? Is Aboriginality institutionalized gutlessness, an acceptance of the label 'the most powerless people on earth'? Or is Aboriginality when all the definitions have been exhausted a yearning for a different way of being, a wholeness that was

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[1]See Chapter XI for an account of 'contemporary' legislation.

> presumed to have existed before 1776? (Watson, in Gilbert, 1977:184).

For others, the quest for Aboriginal identity followed a different path, and produced a 'crisis' of identity for a different reason.

There were those whom missionaries took to educate (Perkins, 1975:29); those fostered out to white families (Molly Dyer, in Gilbert, 1977:224,225), who lived all their lives as white people and thought of themselves as whites. At some stage, circumstances forced them to the realization of their Aboriginality, to a painful search for parents and kin, to a search for a new Aboriginal identity among Aboriginal people who saw them as white.

For these people, too, there was a search for an Aboriginal identity credible to them.

10.4 Summary - implications for the construction of identity

In terms of the social construction of identity, Aboriginal people, whether being identified by the dominant mainstream society, being identified by other Aborigines or identifying themselves as Aborigines, were in a situation, until the seventies, where the identity which was bestowed upon them was negative or anomic, and the positive identity sought was unstable, contradictory and elusive.

Colin Bourke highlights the feelings of other Aboriginal people when he says:

> Few Aborigines are completely comfortable with their Aboriginality. There is a large vacuum of unfilled Aboriginal needs. It is these unsatisfied desires - to be able to see oneself as a person of value, to be proud to be an Aborigine, to be able to work at one's own identity and heritage in a positive light - which negate all the programs derived for Aboriginal advancement (Bourke, 1978:4).

An analysis of Bourke's statement isolates factors seen as

basic to the construction of identity:

- the need to be seen as a person of value
- the need to be able to work at one's identity and heritage in a positive light
- the need to be proud to be an Aborigine

These same factors were stressed by all those Aboriginal people interviewed in the process of defining the problem to be researched.

Such a view presents one synthesizing idea - identity does not lie in differences in culture or sub-culture, but in the ability to point to origin with pride, and to see oneself and be seen in a positive light. It is only in this context that the Aborigines see themselves able to counteract the socialization into identity offered them by the dominant group, namely, socialization into negative identity or socialization into identity-diffusion.

CHAPTER XI

THE ABORIGINAL WORLD: CONTEMPORARY THEORIZING/ CONTEMPORARY NAMING

Contemporary legislation referring to Aborigines, as an element in contemporary theorizing, will now be examined. A dramatic change took place in legislation for Aboriginal people subsequent to the 1967 Referendum.

11.1 The 1967 Referendum

In May, 1967, a referendum was held for the people of the Commonwealth of Australia. Ninety-one per cent of the vote cast opted to give the Federal Parliament the power to pass laws for the welfare of Aborigines - laws to remove discrimination and to grant favourable treatment to help Aboriginal people overcome the results of past injustices.

However, the passing of the referendum did not immediately bear fruit in legislation.

In August 1968, Whitlam, Leader of the (Labor) Opposition, complained that no new measures had been undertaken as a result of the Referendum (Vol. H. of R. 60, 1968, E.G. Whitlam, Debate).

The Federal (Liberal) Government did not take steps to use the power granted by the Referendum. Major changes in policy were not, in fact, initiated until 1973 when the Labor Party came to power. It is proposed to date contemporary legislation and policy from that period.

11.2 Contemporary legislation and policy

The 1973 policies of the Federal Labor Party were anticipated, in many respects, in South Australia by the State Labor Party as early as 1965.

Though these policies of South Australia pre-date the referendum, they are appropriately considered at this juncture as 'contemporary' policy anticipating the reforms of the Labor government at the Federal level.

11.21 Integration - an alternative to assimilation, South Australian State Labor Party policy, 1965

Legislation in South Australia before the sixties had, in general, codified and legitimated practice.

The mid-sixties in South Australia saw a period of legislation by a Labor Government that attempted not to legitimate, but to change practice.

Laws were passed regarding land rights for Aborigines. Anti-discrimination laws were aimed at changing the practices, if not the attitudes, of the white population towards Aborigines. For the first time, there was a move from policies aimed at control and containment of the Aboriginal people to discussion, consultation and negotiation.

King, the then South Australian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs issued a statement in 1971 entitled The Shaping of a New Aboriginal Policy in South Australia. He repudiated the official policies of assimilation held by the Liberal governments and maintained that

> The final wrong would be to attempt to destroy the Aborigine's racial and cultural identity and to turn him into a pseudo-white man. A most encouraging sign is the development among Aborigines of the desire to identify with their own people and to be proud of their race and its culture.
>
> This desire of educated Aborigines to be with their own people, rather than escape from their environment into the white community, is a most hopeful indication of the rapid recovery of self-respect of the Aboriginal people (King, Commonwealth Hansard, Senate Budget Debate, 1971-72:756-759).

It is interesting (and revealing, as an example of sedimentation of knowledge) to note that, despite King's enlightened attitude, he still thought of Aborigines as identifying with "their own people". The Aborigines to whom he referred were part-Aborigines, and therefore also part-European. It is a commentary on the perceptions of white society that contemporary theorizers, even the most enlightened, assume that Aborigines should identify with the race of their black parent rather than their white parent.

Nevertheless, leaving aside the problem inherent in the assumptions pointed out, it must be acknowledged that the legislation of the South Australian Government set Aboriginal affairs on an entirely new path.

Rowley (1971:409) saw this as the most daring and positive innovation of any Australian government.

To make it possible for the Aborigines to "identify with their own people", but yet remain within white society, King proposed a policy of *integration*.

He defined the policy of integration as

> ...the right of the Aboriginal people to live in our community on fully equal terms but retaining, if they so desire, a separate and identifiable Aboriginal heritage and culture (King, op.cit.,:756).

King's statement supported the politicisation of Aborigines, advocating that there should be active encouragement of a "sophisticiated and articulate aboriginal public opinion". He looked to the development of autonomous government on reserves, and to the participation of Aborigines in the political community. The policy of integration put forward by King was a policy that, at the conceptual level, neither nihilated the Aboriginal world of meaning nor employed therapy to assimilate this world. Rather, such policy provided for the possibility of an alternative Aboriginal identity located in mainstream society.

The policy made a major impact on 'official' theorizing about Aborigines which, for the first time, was positive. It was a theorizing with which the Aboriginal people could interact and which they could appropriate. They themselves now had the possibility of theorizing about a positive identity for Aboriginal people.

The Labor Party, at the national level, reflected and interacted with the policies of the South Australian Government. In particular, South Australian legislation anticipated the policy of self-determination that was to be put forward on the Federal scene when a Labor Government came into power in the early seventies.

11.22 Federal Labor Party policy, 1973

The platform statement of the Labor Party[1], elected in 1973, proposed legislation against all forms of discrimination and the promotion of the rights of Aborigines with regard to social services, land rights and health, all new policies.

Aboriginal people were to receive the standard rate of pay for employment and the same industrial protection as other Australians, a dramatic departure from practice.

Educational opportunities were to be provided that were in no way inferior to those of the general community. Pre-school education and adult education were to be provided as broadly as possible.

The philosophy underlying these programmes was that of self-determination for the Aboriginal people, and greater autonomy in all areas of their lives.

In one sense, such a policy was integrated into the overall thrust of Labor policy, which was one of providing equality of opportunity for all those in society who were disadvantaged in one form or another.

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[1]See Appendix XVI, p. 559, for the Labour Party platform.

However, the policy for Aborigines went beyond this. It recognised the need for positive discrimination. Special provision for employment was to be provided in regions where there was a concentration of Aboriginal people.

Above all, the policy recognised in positive terms the Aboriginal search for identity.

Every Australian child was to be taught the history and culture of Aboriginal and Island Australians, as an integral part of the history of Australia.

The Labor Party, having introduced massive legislation at the Commonwealth level, enjoyed only a short time in office. It was succeeded by the Liberal/National Country Party Coalition in 1975.

11.23 Liberal/National Country Party Policy, 1975

The policy of self-determination initiated by the Labor Party was modified by the Liberal/National Country Party Coalition to one of self-management in its platform policy[1] of 1975.

In the major guidelines of the Liberal/National Party policy, self-management was outlined in the following way:

> The Liberal and National Country Parties recognise that if a policy of self-management is to be effective Aborigines must play a leading role in their affairs. This will include Aborigines playing a significant role:
>
> (a) in setting long term goals and objectives which the government should pursue and the programmes it should adopt in such areas as Aboriginal education, housing, health, employment and legal aid;
>
> (b) in setting the priorities for expenditure on Aboriginal affairs within the context of overall budget allocations; and
>
> (c) in evaluating existing programmes and formulating new ones (The Liberal and National Country Parties' Aboriginal Affairs Policy, 1975).

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1 See Appendix XIV, p. 561, Platform of Liberal and National Country Party, 1975.

There was manifestly a shift from the Labor party policy of autonomy and self-determination to one where the government was again to take back responsibility for the Aboriginal people. Rather than being self-determining, the Aboriginal people, under the Liberal Party platform, would "play a leading role in setting goals" which the government "should" pursue.

There is no emphasis in this policy, as there was in the South Australian policy, on the active encouragement of the politicisation of Aboriginal groups.

There is an emphasis on the preservation of cultural differences, but not on the possibility of structural differentiation.

The policy supported the recognition of differences in the life-style of different groups of Aboriginal people. The preamble noted that:

> ... the life style of Aborigines will, of necessity, vary between those living a more tribalised state in or near their traditional lands and those living in or near towns or cities. Policies must therefore reflect this fact (Liberal and National Country Parties' Aboriginal Affairs Policy, 1975).

The policy set out the following statements, detailing its assumptions and aims, recognising and promoting an Aboriginal identity:

> - We recognise the fundamental right of Aborigines to retain their racial identity and traditional life-style or where desired to adopt partially or wholly a European life-style;
>
> - We will, within the limits of available finances fund programmes which develop Aboriginal self-sufficiency and which represent initiatives that Aborigines themselves believe will enhance their dignity, self-respect and self-reliance.
>
> - We will promote cross-cultural understanding and co-operation by a continuing process of community education for all age groups to ensure a higher level of mutual toleration, trust and enterprise than has so far marked our history.
>
> - A special obligation is also imposed upon us all to provide opportunities for Aborigines to preserve their traditions, languages and

customs from further encroachment and destruction.

- Aboriginal values are an intrinsic part of Australia's culture and heritage. We are part of each other. Without mutual respect and support for each other's cultural integrity, we cannot secure our personal identities (Liberal and National Country Parties' Aboriginal Affairs Policy, 1975).

Thus Government policy, at the 'theoretical' level, recognised the interaction between the psychological reality of identity and the psychological world produced by theorizing. At the same time it moved back from policies of autonomy to a particular interpretation of integration and self-management that may be categorised as therapeutic in intent, rather than being concerned with the promotion and recognition of an alternative identity.

Nevertheless, the theorizing is positive in its tone. The identity offered to Aboriginal people, within the limitations of the conceptualisation of the policies, is not one of socialization into negative identity.

There is recognition, as in the case of the Labor Party, that Aborigines are not a monolithic group.

There is recognition of the need to leave options open so that the people may choose an identity.

It must be asked whether the statement "we are part of each other" is merely a sentiment or whether it can be seen to be supporting other theorizing; whether the differentiation of Aborigines into worlds where they "retain their racial identity and traditional life-style, or where desired adopt partially or wholly a European life-style" is supported in other theorizing.

The possibility of testing whether such a policy may be seen as rhetoric rather than reality may be found in examining whether or not the assumptions made, and the policies projected, can be meshed into overall policy without losing credibility.

The application of such a test is provided for by the fact that Liberal party policy not only grew out of, and was a modified version of, the policy inherited from the Labor Government, but it had to take account of a new emphasis in the conceptualisation of Australian society.

By the early seventies many different migrant groups had attained a cohesive identity for various reasons, some connected with language, some with religion, some with political affiliation, some with social mobility giving higher status to individuals within the group.

Such cohesion, added to a vigorous ethnic press, gave considerable power at the ballot box.

In order to retain their seats, politicians found it imperative to recognise ethnic groups and support their causes.

A change in the conceptualisation of Australian society to accommodate migrants as an integral part of the 'world' of Anglo-Saxon society was forced upon politicians.

This change in government attitude was attributed unashamedly

> ...mainly to growing awareness within all major political parties in recent years of the needs of migrant communities and of the importance of the migrant vote, particularly in marginal electorates (Commonwealth Education Portfolio, Discussion paper on Education in a multi-cultural Australia, April, 1978).

Australian society was reconceptualised as a multi-cultural society.

Government legislation and policy relating to this conceptualisation of Australian society will now be examined, in particular as this is exemplified in the 'world' of education, and with special reference to the manner in which the 'world' of Aborigines

is subsumed within the 'world' of multi-cultural Australia.

11.3 Australia as a multi-cultural society

As was the case with Aborigines, policy towards migrants was initially one of assimilation.

In 1972, at the same time that King was announcing integration as policy for Aborigines in South Australia, Lynch, the then Federal Minister for Immigration, announced integration as a new policy for migrants:

> The earlier desire to make stereotype Australians of the newcomers has been set aside. The use of integration instead of assimilation is not mere semantics; it is the outward sign of a fundamental change in the attitude of the Australian Government and people (Lynch, in Roberts, ed., 1972:10).

What Lynch did not state was that the fundamental change in the attitude of the Australian Government was due to political pressure brought to bear on the government by migrant groups.

In the case of the Aborigines, who had no vote until the referendum, it had been advantageous to mainstream society to exclude them from a common framework; Aboriginal people were powerless in the face of this treatment.

The migrant groups, however, were a force to be reckoned with; many of them were highly politicised and the cohesion of the groups gave support to their demands.

However, while policy could be reformulated, restated at governmental level, Lynch's theory that the policy of integration also showed a change of attitude on the part of Australian people was utopian in the extreme.

Changes in practice can be legislated for. It is not possible to legislate for changes of attitude. It is even more unrealistic to speak of changes in the attitudes of people following upon

reconceptualisation.

Nevertheless, from this date, policies not only regarding migrants (redefined as ethnic groups), but also regarding Aborigines, must be considered within the framework of a multi-cultural Australia.

In 1978, the Prime Minister (Malcolm Fraser), tabling the Galbally Report in Parliament, made the following pronouncement:

> Australia is at a critical stage in developing a cohesive, united, multicultural nation. Further steps to encourage multi-culturalism are needed ... [the government] will foster the retention of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and promote intercultural understanding (Fraser, 1978:2728).

It was Fraser's view that schools were "the key element in achieving such a goal" (ibid:2731).

In order to investigate how theorizing on the part of government about multicultural attitudes finds issue in practice, it is proposed to select out a particular 'world' in which the effect of the policy of multiculturalism can be clearly discerned, namely the 'world' of education which Fraser saw as the key element in achieving policies of multiculturalism.

11.31 Government policy on multi-culturalism in education

The urgency of promoting multi-culturalism in education is shown by the number and status of the committees appointed and the speed with which they presented reports and with which their recommendations were implemented. These general issues will not be surveyed here. Rather, the focus will be on whether or not the policy of integration for Aborigines is itself integrated into overall policy for a 'new' Australia.

One source of government theorizing, against which policy towards Aborigines may be tested, is found in the Commonwealth Education Portfolio discussion paper of 1978.

11.31 (i) Commonwealth Education Portfolio discussion paper

The Commonwealth Education Portfolio discussion paper of 1978 set out to adumbrate the means of establishing formal machinery to implement the recommendations of the report on post-arrival services for migrants (the Galbally Report), particularly with regard to its recommendations for education.

The discussion paper devotes one page (p. 4) to a description of the Aboriginal sitation, but then is able to ignore Aborigines since "the Government has acknowledged the unique position of the Aboriginals by the establishment of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs".

On page 8, the statement is made:

> The conceptual framework for education for a multicultural society must include all groups in Australian society. There is a popular tendency to think of multicultural education as relating only to immigrants.

This is qualified by a footnote:

> The Government has accepted that special educational provisions are necessary for the Aboriginal group.

The mention of *"all groups"* in society does not refer to Aborigines but to established Anglo-Saxon groups who are to be encouraged to appreciate the culture and customs of the migrants.

Aborigines are given special help, placed in a unique position; at the same time they are placed outside the conceptual frameworks for a multicultural society in a footnote.

In sum, the policy of integration for Aborigines cannot be seen as itself integrated into overall policy aimed at promoting Australia as a multi-cultural society. On the contrary, Aborigines are excluded. Furthermore, they are excluded as a single, monolithic group in contra-distinction to the official government policy, which offered various possibilities for the location of Aboriginal identity.

In the same year, 1978, a ministerial committee was appointed to make recommendations on the distribution of funds for multi-cultural education.

11.31 (ii) 1978 Ministerial Committee on Multi-cultural Education

The 1978 Committee, in presenting its report, stated:

> Australia has always been a multicultural society. Even before the European settlement the continent was inhabited by the Aboriginal groups each with their own distinct and different languages and cultures (Committee on Multicultural Education, 1979:5).

With these few words, which can only be seen as a sop to Aboriginal people, (the use of the word multicultural in the instance quoted bears no resemblance to the use of the word throughout the rest of the text), Aborigines are dismissed.

In point of fact, the multi-culturalism of Aboriginal society, prior to the seventies, was recognised only by anthropologists. It was never recognised by government.

Manifestly, the situation of the Aboriginal people, their loss of culture and their loss of identity places them in a category quite different from that of migrants.

Aborigines recognise this. They see their case on all counts as different from that of migrants.

In a paradoxical way the Report recognises it too, but recognises it by excluding Aborigines from further mention. Nevertheless, if Aborigines are to be seen as part of a multi-cultural society, if policies of integration for Aborigines advanced by the government in power are not to be mere rhetoric, then efforts must be made to conceptualise Australian society in a way that does not exclude Aborigines. Conceptualisation acts in the same way as naming - it locates individuals in a particular world of meaning. Current

conceptualisation locates Aborigines outside the framework of a multi-cultural society. Further enlightenment will be sought from the conclusions of government supported bodies.

11.32 Policies of government supported bodies

(i) Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 1977

In its submission to the Australian Population and Immigration Council, August, 1977, Australia as a Multi-cultural Society, the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council isolated three key issues confronting Australia as a result of migration policies, namely social cohesion, equality and cultural identity.

The Council further identified three principal processes by which multiculturalism develops:

1. Cultural stratification; socio-economic stratification coincides with ethnic stratification to produce a hierarchy of cultural layers
2. Differentiation by cultural regions (e.g. Switzerland)
3. Differentiation by cultural communities (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 1977:16).

In its submission, the Council held that where the process of developing multiculturalism is one of cultural stratification (as in 1. above), the concentration of people of certain ethnic origins in low socio-economic strata, a process which is associated also with lack of knowledge of English, "devalues and stigmatises that ethnic community in the eyes of the larger society and threatens the identity and self-esteem of its members" (ibid:16).

If this is so, then, in the case of Aborigines now under discussion, the question must be asked whether or not, in the conceptualisation of Australia as a multi-cultural country, Aborigines are confronted with a non-choice, a situation structured for failure, since in general they are part of process 1. above, namely cultural stratification. As a group, they are contexted into a socio-economic stratification that coincides with ethnic stratification,

a situation that, by its nature, precludes the exercise of power and, in the words of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, devalues and stigmatises that ethnic community in the eyes of the larger society and threatens the identity and self-esteem of its members.

This situation is perpetuated by the exclusion of Aborigines from the conceptualisation of mainstream society. At the same time, Aborigines are presented with an ideology of self-determination/ self-management.

The question again arises as to whether the Party Platform of the Government towards migrants works to negate its stated policy of integration for Aborigines.

The answer would seem to be, 'Yes, it does'.

A further reflection of contemporary theorizing may be found in the influential report of the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, 1978.

11.32 (ii) Ethnic Affairs Commission, N.S.W., 1978

The Ethnic Affairs Commission related the promotion of multi-culturalism to the maintenance of a secure identity:

> The long search for an Australian identity is taking a new turn. A new identity is now emerging through huge shifts in community values, taste, style norms (New South Wales, Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1978:1).

Nevertheless, the Commission did not see Aboriginal people as part of this newly emerging Australian identity.

> Regarding the Australian Aborigines the Commission felt during its first year of operation, that it had neither the competence nor the resources even to start tackling the first issue; - that is, whether the Aborigines would like to be included in the work of the Commission (ibid:5).

In this document, once again Aborigines were not seen as part of a multicultural Australia. The Commissioners, like so many before them, felt they were faced with an intractable problem.

Their reaction reflected so many other stances towards Aborigines; Aborigines are Aborigines, not really Australians.

Since Aborigines are not part of the new 'Australian' identity, the logical deduction is that they must first find a separate Aboriginal identity. That is, policies which act to exclude, either by omission or commission, must be seen to erect a boundary from without.

Nevertheless, in a climate of positive typification of Aborigines by policy making bodies, even though Aborigines are not included in their policy, the boundaries erected to exclude Aborigines act not to nihilate, but to promote cohesion among the people thus excluded, or at least they may be profited from in this way.

A further institution which has the potential to be a powerful 'reality definer' for migrants and for Aborigines alike is found in the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, established in 1980.

(iii) Australian Institute of Multi-cultural Affairs

The Institute addressed education as its first major issue. It came to the conclusion that the maintenance of aspects of ethnic culture was not incompatible with identification as an Australian:

> The commitment of Australia's ethnic groups to maintaining aspects of their cultural heritage is clear, and this is not only compatible with, but supportive of identification with Australia... To fully realise Australia's potential, meet the responsibilities and reap the benefits inherent in the composition of our population, it is necessary that all Australians be afforded equality of opportunity to participate in the life of the nation and maintain their ethnic and cultural heritage within the law and accepted political framework.
>
> ...Education in Australia should embrace the teaching of English as a second language, the teaching of community languages and studies of ethnic and cultural

> diversity in Australia (Australian Institute of Multi-cultural Affairs, 1980:vii, 7).

The Institute did not include Aborigines in its concern.

The stated aims of this document were to promote a cohesive Australian society by developing among Australian people an awareness and understanding of the diverse cultures resulting from the migration of various ethnic groups.

The Institute declared itself ready to cooperate with Aboriginal groups. Yet Aborigines were separated out as not part of this cohesive society.

The question must be asked whether, despite the granting of citizenship to Aborigines, they were nevertheless not seen by government or by official organisations, as eligible for therapy and appropriate subjects for integration.

The answer would seem to be rather that it is a question of administrative organization which is at the bottom of this problem, that Aborigines are not separated out because of their 'uniqueness' but they are excluded conceptually in order to maintain the operations of a government department.

> Separate administrative arrangements apply to those areas and as the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs made clear in November 1979, in his second reading speech on the Bill to establish the Institute, it would not overlap the functions of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs or the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1980:v).

Whatever the basis for exclusion, as far as Aborigines are concerned, it must be concluded that they are not seen by any of these reality definers as located within the framework of a multi-cultural Australia.

It must be concluded that, given contemporary conceptualisation, there is no place for an Aboriginal world within the framework

of a multi-cultural society, that possibilities of self-direction for Aborigines rest on a fragile power base, that if the uniqueness of Aborigines is accepted and the current framework of a multi-cultural society is also accepted, then Aborigines must exercise their autonomy outside this framework, knowing they will be rejected for doing this by the same society that brought it about.

11.33 Summary

The conceptualisation of a multi-cultural Australia excludes Aborigines. The official reasoning behind this exclusion may be formulated in the following way:

> *All ethnic groups are equal. The Aboriginal people are unique, different. Their position in society cannot be included in any conceptualisation of a multicultural society. Their uniqueness excludes them from multi-cultural society.*

This, in fact, is the situation to be found in a study of the documentation. Aborigines are excluded from a multi-cultural Australia.

The Aboriginal people are put into a situation without the possibility of resolution. They are told that any initiative taken in Aboriginal matters should be taken by Aborigines themselves. No-one disagrees with this - least of all Aboriginal people. Interviews carried out for this study provided evidence that Aboriginal people have interacted with theorizing about self-determination and themselves theorize that Aborigines have to help themselves. The question is whether a group oppressed, rejected, powerless for hundreds of years can, at a point of time, be given (by committees) the right to self-determination/self-management that is real.

Furthermore, while Aborigines are physically located within the multi-cultural society, structurally they must determine their future outside this society, and this not by their own choice.

Clearly, there is a boundary from without operating to locate Aborigines in a 'world' which presupposes a structural pluralism which, in practice, is not countenanced by the policies of the dominant group.

The problem inherent in the conceptualisation of policies of self-management/self-determination for a minority group by a dominant group is that, if such a conceptualisation is accepted by the minority group and put into practice, efforts at real self-determination (in this case including the cultivation of Aboriginal identity) lay themselves open to being labelled by the dominant groups as attempts to establish a 'race within a race'.

The policy of self-determination/self-management cannot become real so long as attempts to achieve this end are characterised in this way.

Government policy approves self-direction; the reality, however, is that efforts aimed at bringing this about produce a situation where the dominant group is no longer dominant, a situation that is resisted at all costs.

The 'solution' to the Aboriginal 'problem' may be categorised within a social pathology model that further damages Aboriginal efforts towards regaining a measure of autonomy over their lives. This model may be 'explained' in the following way:

> *The problem is too difficult for white people. Let Aboriginal people take responsibility for their problem. If/when Aboriginal people fail, it will be seen as their failure to take responsibility. If they succeed, they will also fail, for they will create a 'race within a race' which cannot be tolerated.*

The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty Report, A Study of Aboriginal Poverty in Two Country Towns (1975), supported the view that a social pathology model is being created.

In making general comments, the Report noted some Europeans making statements such as:

> They should be free to follow their own culture.
> Why should we expect them to accept ours?

The comment is made that such statements come too late and

> ... can have a parallel in another sentiment frequently expressed in situations where cultural conflict exists, that 'they should be free to develop along their own lines'. Both of these can so easily be a respectable form of rationalising and justifying discriminatory practices in a far more subtle way, on the part of those not amenable to change. This avoids the real problem, leaving those facing cultural conflicts and disorganisation out on a limb, and frequently perpetuates prevailing inequities on the basis that 'they don't really want to change' (Commission of Inquiry into Poverty Report, 1975:66).

There is, however, one advantage gained by the Aboriginal people from the theorizing of government and of official government bodies.

While the theorizing about integration for Aborigines is negated by the theorizing about integration for other ethnic groups, it is nevertheless a theorizing about the location of Aborigines in society that is positive in intent.

Despite the fact that the 'world' of Aborigines is excluded from mainstream 'cohesive' multi-cultural society, the 'world' of Aboriginal people is no longer nihilated. It is recognised.

The recognition provides a basis for Aboriginal theorizing that is positive.

The exclusion of Aboriginal people provides a 'boundary from without' which marks off Aborigines as a group, and makes easier the possibility of disparate groups of Aboriginal people becoming more cohesive and constructing a framework for building positive identity.

The theorizing of one further government body having education as its sole concern must be examined, namely, the Australian Schools Commission, constituted by the Labor Government in 1973.

11.4 Australian Schools Commission

The Australian Schools Commission was set up by the Labor Government, in 1973, to advise the Minister of Education. In light of the fact that the Commission made recommendations for the disbursement of funds, it must be seen as having played an important role in policy making.

It is noteworthy that the first chairman and deputy chairman of the Schools Commission came to their positions immediately upon completing a report on education in South Australia for the State Labor Government, a Government regarded as having a most enlightened policy towards Aborigines.

By the nature of things, governments appoint to positions of power those who reflect the thinking of the government, those in sympathy with its policies. Therefore, while the appointment of the Commissioners cannot be seen as political in intent, it would be expected that the selection of Commissioners would be based on the expectation of a degree of symmetry between the theorising of the Federal Labor Government and the emphases of the Schools Commissioners, as evidenced in their report to the South Australian State Government.

This symmetry is exemplified in the focussing of attention on the 'disadvantaged'.

In the 1973 Interim Report of the Schools Commission both Aborigines and migrants were treated as special cases of the 'disadvantaged'. The need was seen for the co-ordination of programmes for Aborigines, and the integration of special child migrant education into the programme of the Schools Commission.

This special project was removed from the Commonwealth Department concerned with migrant welfare, and the needs of migrants were recognised as being appropriately placed within the total educational fabric.

By 1975 the Labor government was replaced by the Liberal/National Party Coalition. Nevertheless the thrust of the Schools Commission towards the needs of the disadvantaged remained (albeit with certain trade-offs for the independent school sector).

The 1976 Schools Commission Report continued, for migrants, the emphasis on their special disadvantages. There was also an emphasis on the importance of school curricula in the maintaining of identity for ethnic groups.

The Commission, in its 1976 Report, came out against assimilationist policies for migrants and supported the notion of dual cultural identity.

With reference to Aborigines

> ...the Commission came to the conclusion that one element, the voice of Aborigines themselves, was still muffled. To assist it in its consideration of the problems the Commission formed an Aboriginal Consultative group, chosen by the Aborigines from all parts of Australia. The Commission unequivocally supports their belief that the great need is for Aborigines to take more responsibility for their own advancement (Australian Schools Commission, 1976:9.2).

The notion of dual cultural identity was to be applied to Aborigines as well as migrants. This policy permitted the encouragement of Aboriginal activity for Aborigines without placing them outside the frame of reference of Australian society, as other policy had done.

While the Commission thus legitimated the construction of a specifically Aboriginal identity, it was not within its power to make real the concept of dual identity, that is identity located

within mainstream society, as well as within a particular ethnic group. Instead, the proposals of the Commission concerning Aborigines were directed to the end of progressively placing more responsibility in the hands of the Aboriginal people themselves. The Commission regarded it as essential (9.23) that Aborigines be involved in the development of policies and in advising on implementation. Parents should be involved in the school through home liaison workers and counsellors (9.27). The Commission was prepared to support independent Aboriginal schools, thus encouraging duality of structures, and self-determination in at least one area, that of education. The Curriculum Development Centre was to be encouraged to give priority to improving Aboriginal curriculum materials.

The 1978 Report of the Schools Commission returned again to the promotion of multi-culturalism. It noted (8.2) that the provision of language classes for migrants across the whole curriculum, in regular classes (rather than withdrawing students), was a positive welcoming of cultural variety reflecting the multicultural aspects of Australian society.

Nevertheless, it was aware (8.3) that changes were developing slowly and unevenly with "confusion both about the ramifications of accepting a multicultural philosophy and about the possibilities of transferring various interpretations of it into reality".

The reality was that there was a growing acceptance in the wider society of the different foods, music, costumes of ethnic groups. This acceptance, taken by itself, could be seen as trivialising the notion of multi-culturalism.

It could be argued, also, that academic studies which flourished in the seventies, and were intended to promote multi-culturalism, in fact reified the concept, and removed it from 'real life'. Viewed in this light, such studies could be accepted by mainstream society, just as quaint, exotic food could be accepted.

Multiculturalism only became problematic when it found issue in real life in structural differentiation.

The 1978 Schools Commission Report, having pointed out the problems inherent in the implementation of the policy, addressed itself to migrant and multicultural education chiefly in terms of language - it centred its comments around the teaching of English as a second language and the teaching of community languages, chiefly as a means of maintaining identity.

With regard to Aboriginal education (7.43) the Commission pointed to the incredibly low number of Aboriginal students enrolled in Colleges of Advanced Education or Universities in 1977 - a total of 53 for the whole of Australia. They saw as

> ... not unrelated to this failure to derive full benefit in an alien culture and on its terms, [the fact that] most school syllabuses, value systems and operational patterns both fail to reinforce the group identity of black students or to utilise the experiences and traditions students bring.

It is noteworthy that the Commission encouraged and supported group identity for Aborigines and saw this as important for enabling Aboriginal people to face, in the school, an alien culture and derive benefit from the school system of this alien world. It is also noteworthy that it encouraged the foundation of independent schools where students would not feel exposed to alienating values and experiences.

The Commission (7.44) reinforced its earlier decision to support and foster the pre-conditions for more decisive Aboriginal participation in education at all levels. One effort had already borne fruit. The Aboriginal Consultative group set up by the Commission in 1975 had become, in 1978, the National Aboriginal Education Committee operating in the Commonwealth Department of Education, in order to be able to make policy inputs across the whole portfolio.

The Commission (7.47) saw the urgency of issues demanding an urgency of response. It set the responsibility back into schools to develop appropriate five year programmes to improve education for Aborigines, a move which also recognised the diversity of the social worlds of Aboriginal groups. Different groups in different situations would need different solutions to their problems.

The Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1982-1984 again returned to the issues it had isolated earlier. It noted with approval the upsurge of interest in multi-culturalism following the Galbally Report of 1978 and the foundation of the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs in 1980.

Multiculturalism as an approach to schooling had devéloped far beyond a preoccupation with disadvantage and the need to teach English as a second language. Ethnic schools were now being funded as a matter of policy, a recognition of multiculturalism in structural terms. Of all the policy-making bodies examined, it is the Schools Commission alone that recognised the need for multi-structures for ethnic groups and drew Aborigines into the multi-cultural perspective.

The Commission took pains to include Aborigines in its view of multiculturalism:

> Although the main proponents of a policy of multi-culturalism have been the immigrant ethnic groups, the policy programmes which are taking shape are not confined to those groups. For example, it is important to include the teaching of Aboriginal languages and cultures since Aborigines are a significant and important part of our multi-cultural society. Indeed, the need is to define a policy in such a way that it relates to the whole population of Australia and responds to the pluralist needs within the population (Australian Schools Commission, 1982:5.108).

The Commission noted the dangers of such policy becoming reified, of multicultural education degenerating into the use of slogans

rather than becoming a liberating experience. It stressed the necessity of devising ways to support student self-esteem and confidence and of providing students with opportunities to broaden and enrich their lives through acquaintanceship with another culture.

Thus the Commission firmly set Aboriginal education into the context of a multicultural Australia. It encouraged strategies that would help Aborigines "preserve their identity with dignity and status" (6.12) and achieve a measure of self-determination in the field of education.

In the same report the Commission advocated a structural change in the case of Aborigines, in which the latter would be granted a measure of self-determination. It recommended that the disbursing of funds for Aboriginal education be transferred to the Commonwealth Minister of Education and decisions for the disbursement of funds be made in consultation with the National Aboriginal Education Committee.

Such a recommendation would, if implemented, provide for a power base that is real, in that it would be supported by a measure of economic autonomy.

In Schools' Commission policy there was a major shift in the location of Aborigines in society. The responsibility for Aborigines was not seen as belonging to the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, where every other body had located it.

For the Schools Commission, Aborigines were Aborigines, but they were also Australian and not to be excluded from the frame of reference of Australian society.

The education of Aborigineswas to fall within the same orbit as that of other Australians, that is, within the portfolio of the Commonwealth Minister for Education.

The Schools Commission manifestly has made efforts to respond to the needs of Aboriginal students. However, despite the fact that Fraser maintained that schools were the key element in bringing about a new Australian identity, it must be asked whether schools alone can assume the burden of providing a setting wherein differing cultures will be respected when, in fact, cultures continue to be esteemed differentially in the wider society, and the values and norms of some cultural groups are held to be, or are in fact, incompatible with those of other groups.

It has been argued above that conceptualisation acts to locate identity, and that naming also is an indicator, in a society, of the locus of power for bestowing identity.

Contemporary naming of Aborigines will now be examined as part of the theorising that is the basis for the construction of the 'worlds' within which Aboriginal people find identity.

11.5 Contemporary naming/identification of Aboriginal people

The 1939 Amendment of the 1911 Aborigines Act in South Australia extended the definition of Aboriginal beyond strain of blood, fractions of blood and mode of life to include all those persons who were descended from the original inhabitants of Australia. In the seventies, the definition of Aborigine was to shift this emphasis to one of self-identification.

Mrs. Glad Elphick (in Berndt, ed., 1971:105), speaking of her work with the Council of Aboriginal Women, and describing those who would be assisted by the Council, defined Aborigines as:

> ... any person who identifies as, or is identified by others as an Aborigine.

Jones claimed that

> ...the identification of racial origin is important only where it provides a basis for the formation of distinctive social groups and group attitudes (Jones, 1970:41).

Broom and Jones concluded in their statements towards a social policy for Aborigines that

> A first need is to establish a common definition: the 1971 Census self-identification question seems to offer the best solution (Broom and Jones, 1973:90).

However, while this definition of identification is eminently practicable for census purposes, and appears straightforward, it does not come to grips with the more fundamental problem of identity, of stability in the perception of one's self-sameness in positive terms, in the location of oneself in a particular social structure, and in the provision of 'functional constancy', that is, the recognition by others of one's self-sameness.

The Aboriginal Consultative group offered the following definition of Aboriginal identity:

> The identity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people is primarily a question of descent and should be established on the basis of family lines. We realise that for some Aborigines and Torres Strait Island people, documentation of descent will be difficult and some appropriate method determining lineage may have to be devised (Report to the Australian Schools Commission, 1975:5).

Aboriginal people perceive the need of something more than a verbal self-identification - namely, an identification that is at the same time a contexting into a life-history and into a group.

So great is the confusion which has been engendered by earlier policy and practice that, in the contemporary social climate where it is acceptable to identify and be identified as Aboriginal, questions have to be asked even by the Aboriginal people seeking Aboriginal identity:

> What does Aboriginal identity mean?
> What does the perception of self-sameness imply?
> How do we arrive at self-identification?

The white world, until the seventies, could decide arbitrarily who was, and who was not, an Aborigine.

Aboriginal people do not take lightly such arbitrariness when it is practised by Aboriginal people who, in contemporary society, have the power to name themselves by self-identification, and who locate themselves now in white society, now in Aboriginal society.

Aboriginal people reject as 'pseudo-whites' those who take up government positions. They reject also the 'pseudo-blacks', those who once located themselves in the white world but who now opt to identify themselves as Aborigines.

> There's Aboriginal people, I call them coconuts they do not have a real identity as Aboriginal people. They're dark outside, white inside.
>
> I've got a niece of mine who I've condemned very severely for this. Up until the time the study grants came in, she was no Aboriginal. Soon as the money started to roll in, 'Oh yes, I'm an Aboriginal'. I've never forgiven her for that (George Abdullah, in Gilbert, 1977:205, 210).

Nevertheless, despite this lack of certainty in establishing membership categories, there is a discernible shift in the process of naming, and the power to name, as a form of location of the self in society.

Henceforth, it will be the Aboriginal people themselves who, however tentatively, name themselves. In the contemporary climate this naming takes place within positive theorising.

As a final example of elements of 'theorizing' about Aboriginal 'worlds' and Aboriginal identity, the recognition given to these 'worlds' by the social scientists in the seventies must be acknowledged.

11.6 Contemporary recognition of the 'worlds' of Aboriginal people by researchers in the social sciences

The seventies saw a dramatic surge in the activities of researchers in the disciplines of the social sciences.

The Social Sciences Research Council of Australia set up the first independently financed and controlled survey of Aborigines

throughout Australia (1964-1967).

The Aborigines Project of the Council came to fruition in 1970-71 with the publication of the trilogy of Professor C.D. Rowley, Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Remote Aborigines, Outcastes in White Australia, works which provided a comprehensive guide to underlying trends, to policies and key issues.

In addition to this major work the Research Council (now the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia) was responsible for bringing about collaboration in this major research enterprise, resulting in the following publications, in addition to Rowley's, in the series Aborigines in Australian Society: F. Lancaster Jones (1970), The Structure and Growth of Australia's Aboriginal Population; Ronald Taft, John L.M. Dawson, Pamela Beasley (1970), Attitudes and Social Conditions; J.P.M. Long (1970), Aboriginal Settlements : A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia; H.P. Schapper (1970), Aboriginal Advancement to Integration: Conditions and Plans for Western Australia; Fay Gale, assisted by Alison Brookman (1972), Urban Aborigines; Peter M. Moodie (1973), Aboriginal Health; Leonard Broom and F. Lancaster Jones (1973), A Blanket a Year; Frank Stevens (1974), Aborigines in the Northern Territory Cattle Industry; Hazel M. Smith and Ellen F. Biddle (1975), Look Forward, Not Back : Aborigines in Metropolitan Brisbane; Elizabeth Eggleston (1976), Fear, Favour or Affection : Aborigines and the Criminal Law in Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, was established in 1961, and was responsible also, in the seventies, for commissioning conferences and publications, including in 1978 Black Australia (Hill and Barlow), a bibliography of writings which could be used as references in the teaching of the social sciences.

The apparent indifference in the pre-1970s of social scientists has given way to a concern to give shape and form to the world

of the Aboriginal people. This concern in itself places Aboriginal identity into a positive focus.

Furthermore, the Aboriginal people themselves are addressing in an articulate way the key issues of their 'worlds'. Land Rights issues are widely reported in the press. This is an area basic to identity for both tradition-oriented people and urban people.

But the Aboriginal voice is raised (and heard) on the specific issue of identity and identification, on the location of Aboriginal people in a world of meaning.

Social comment and social analysis are found in writings such as those of Kevin Gilbert (1973, 1977), Charles Perkins (1975), Bobbi Sykes (1975), and the contributors to Black Viewpoint (Tatz, ed., 1975), Kath Walker (1970, 1972), Len Watson (1973).

These writings in social comment witness to the shift in the locus of conceptualisation and naming.

Aboriginal society is coming to be seen more and more through the eyes of Aborigines, through their conceptualisation, their naming.

The foundations for the social construction of identity by the Aboriginal people are being laid.

11.7 Summary

The policy statements of both political parties in the seventies represent a new era for Aboriginal people in so far as government policy and legislation is concerned.

Theorizing on the part of government instrumentalities excludes Aborigines from the world of multi-cultural Australia; nevertheless,

typifications of Aborigines have become positive.

The Schools Commission projects positive theorizing both in typifying Aborigines and in the conceptualisation of their location in society. The Commission supports structural differentiation.

Researchers have changed the focus of the view through which the Aboriginal world is seen.

Nevertheless, a number of problems must be faced.

The following questions may be asked.

In the exercise of self-determination/self-management, can a hitherto powerless group, socialised into powerlessness, take the initiative necessary?

Is the policy of self-determination/self-management a real one? or merely a way of dismissing an impossible problem so that the ensuing situation of failure can be explained in terms of a social pathology model. (The Aborigines have been given (by committees) the right to self-determination. The fact that they fail to use this right is further proof of the innate deficiency of their race).

Are Aboriginal people already excluded from Australian multicultural society by the frames of reference currently held, and will they be forced into separatism from mainstream society?

Are there specific Aboriginal values which make contemporary Aborigines 'unique' and different from other members of the multi-cultural society? or do the policy platforms mythologise about the uniqueness of the effects of the Aboriginal situation and in their mythologising confuse Aboriginal people, who feel obliged to isolate 'Aboriginal' values and culture that mark them off as different? Does Aboriginality consist rather in the exclusion of Aboriginal people, the imposition of boundaries from without?

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[1] In early 1982 the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was negotiating for a study to evaluate self-management projects. University people and Aboriginal people had many apprehensions about undertaking this, fearing the study would be used to prove self-management was not successful, thus providing a rationale for funds to Aboriginal agencies to be cut.

> Do the people of Australia interact with positive Government theorizing and reflect this interaction in positive typifications and positive attitudes to Aborigines? or do people in general continue to interact with sedimented meanings from the pre-1967 period, and in general nihilate Aborigines by reflecting negative typifications? Have urban Aboriginal people continued to interact with these sedimented negative typifications to reproduce them in a negative self image?
>
> How do Aborigines theorize about their present and future location in the world of the dominant group?
>
> In particular, how are these questions answered in relation to a new generation which has not been socialized in the pre-1967 era, namely the students now in schools?

These questions will be addressed in Area II with special reference to educational contexts (Chapters XIX-XXII).

Prior to this, the question of Aboriginal theorizing about Aboriginal 'worlds' will now be pursued through an analysis of the 'worlds' of Aboriginal people in the contexts selected: Strelley (Chapters XII-XVII), Port Augusta and Adelaide (Chapter XVIII):

CHAPTER XII

MODELS OF ABORIGINAL SOCIETY - MODEL 1 CONTIGUITY/CONSERVATION[1] - THE WORLD OF THE STRELLEY MOB

12.1 Introduction

The case study of identity located in the Strelley Mob will be used to illustrate the possibility of concerted group resistance to the right of white men to impose a world of meaning on Aboriginal people. It will also serve to illustrate resistance to the internalization of the subjective correlates of the identification by the white world - namely to the confusion, apathy, dependence and low self-esteem that in most places accompanied nihilation by the dominant group in its pre-1970 conceptualisation of the Aboriginal world.

The Strelley Mob is an Aboriginal group which experienced prolonged contact with white people on cattle and sheep stations.

The covert resistance of the Strelley Mob to their oppressive conditions took on a dramatic, overt form in the 1940s.

Rowley, tracing the account of the strikes of the Mob, makes the following assessment:

> The members showed the enterprise and ingenuity of people who had not lost all social cohesion and found in this operation a means of adapting to new ways in accordance with their own traditions (Rowley, 1971a:1967).

They were able to do this within the white law, advised by a miner, Don McLeod.

Rowley comments on McLeod:

> They had the guidance of one very remarkable non-Aboriginal in Donald McLeod, who possessed the rare

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[1]See p. 72, above.

> ability to stand aside and let people learn from making their own mistakes; and to give advice when required, without being alienated altogether when that advice is not taken.

It is interesting to note the objective comments of the social scientist.

> The squatters, whose self-interest required Aborigines for cheap labour nihilated the efforts of the Aboriginal people to maintain their social cohesion by withdrawing from the white world. These efforts were categorised by squatters as communist inspired.

The Bateman Report on Worker's Awards of 1948 also designated the resistance of the Aboriginal people as communist influenced.

Rowley (1971a:252) quotes John Wilson as saying that there had been periodic attempts by police to round up Aborigines from their mining and take them back to the stations.

> The Aborigines told Wilson
>
> We talk about wages and a place to stay, and squatters and police keep saying Communist. We say "What's this Communist?"

Clearly there was a nihilation by squatters and police of the Aboriginal world of meaning by branding their request for basic needs, wages and housing as inspired by communism (Bjelke-Petersen, Premier of Queensland, uses the same mechanism in the eighties). The demanding of basic human rights by Aborigines could not be tolerated in a world that needed cheap labour: they had to be rejected.

Just as clearly there was a rejection by the Aborigines of their location in a particular world by white people, either a 'world' of communism or a world of dependence on white men and a world of white culture.

The case of Strelley will now be taken up in order to map in detail the components of a situation where there has been a self-

conscious effort on the part of Aboriginal people to construct an Aboriginal society which, while conserving elements of traditional society, also contains adaptations of the traditional 'world' which enable the people to build identity in the contemporary Australian situation.

In analysing the 'world' of the mob the framework used by Sorokin[1] will be used.

12.2 Membership of the group[2]

12.21 The marrngu

It has been pointed out that the membership of the group contains a nucleus of people who acted and suffered together to achieve better working conditions in the forties - a period sufficiently close in time to preserve powerful memories of group suffering and group support. The group consists of about 600 people; the main languages are Nyangurmata and Manyjiljarra.

Membership is voluntary.

In many respects there is a reflection of earlier tribal practice, in that the group, while preserving an entity, is not a static one. People move away for various reasons and return later.

12.22 Membership of white people

The membership of white people[2] employed by the group is non-automatic. Membership is by appointment and contract and may be terminated. The white employees and their families are given section membership so that members of the community will know the correct way to interact with them. They in turn are educated in the correct

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[1] See p. 23 above.

[2] See pp. 54, 55 for a brief background history and composition of the Strelley Mob.

interaction with the people. There is thus a loose, but clear way in which all members of staff are integrated into the community. It is possible that where members remain with the group for a long period they or their children may be invited to fuller participation in membership of the group - a possibility inconceivable with the staff at Jigalong according to Tonkinson[1] (1974:134).

The giving of kinship groupings is a means of contributing to the good order of the group[2]. Avoidance relations can thus be observed by members, and more importantly, the stranger is integrated into a group having responsibilities towards him[3]. Normally, the belonging this confers does not carry the responsibility for the white teachers to deal with disciplinary problems in the school situation. The community takes responsibility for this. Nevertheless, after five years of commitment, one teacher felt the community saw him as part of the group, and expected him too, to exercise this community role of taking responsibility for the discipline of students[4].

The men made a request, in 1979, that a presence be maintained by the teachers over the long vacation. It was explained that the teachers needed to reintegrate themselves into their own families, an explanation immediately understood. Nevertheless leave was staggered to permit this presence. The presence of the white teachers and their integration into the group is obviously seen as important to the community[5].

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[1]For an account of the Jigalong mob, see Tonkinson, 1974. Tonkinson's work will be referred to throughout as it is concerned with a group adjacent to the Strelley Mob, many of them related to members of the Mob. There is a great deal of interaction between the two locations.

[2]Taped interview.

[3]Elkin states that "all persons with whom any person comes into contact must be brought into the kinship system and therefore given a place in a common life of economics and general behaviour" (Elkin, 1954:74).

[4]Taped interview.

[5]Taped interview.

For the white staff, the acceptance of a job depends upon the acceptance of the aims and objectives of the group, and a loyalty to the group in its endeavours.

Mobility into the Mob from the white world is not, of course, a matter about which the Law gives directives. Sorokin (1947) points out that, in general, it is not possible to speak of the mobility of individuals among inter-racial, intersex and interage 'plurels', that is, mobility based on components that are not social constructs and therefore cannot be altered. A negro, for example, cannot become a white man.

While this is true, in its strict sense, nevertheless in the Strelley 'world' a white man or part-European may attain to membership amongst the marrngu if he succeeds in attaining the qualifications established by the group.

This is most evident in the case of McLeod. He is not only accepted into the group,he has been made a leader in the Law.

Part-Europeans, marta marta,are also integrated into the group. The component of membership is viewed according to the degree to which those individuals, coming from outside, are sympathetic to, and willing to put into practice the philosophy of the group.

In 1980 part-European children having kin in the group were being educated by one of the important men[1]. On one occasion European parents,wishing to take their children to sacred places,were invited to leave the children with the group to be educated so that introduction to the sacred places would be possible[2].

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[1]Taped interview.

[2]"Five elders from Strelley went to Woodstock Station to stop a group of white-fellers who were about to take photos and chip off bits of rock from sacred sites. Snow told them they would have to go through the Law if they wanted to view the engravings. The white people left without too much argument. Why did the museum give permission for those people to go to Woodstock without informing the traditional marrngu owners?" (Mikurrunya, 2.10.79).

The distinction is made, as in traditional times, between marrngu and non-marrngu. Urban Aborigines are categorised as part-European since they are seen to adopt the universe of meaning of Europeans. Membership of the marrngu is based on observance of the Law, not on skin colour, or blood.

Boundaries that are established within the group are not based on colour. The (symbolic) boundaries erected to keep out the white world are intended to keep out white culture which is seen as destructive. Individual white people may be accepted and given trust. This is particularly the case with white teachers.

A striking difference appears in the 'world' of the urban Aborigine where the reverse would appear to be the case. While urban Aborigines may be partially accepted amongst whites if they conform to the 'qualifications' of Europeans in housing and life-style, the evidence of discrimination and prejudice indicates that there continues to be rejection from full participation in the white world, on the count of skin colour alone[1]. The history of Aboriginal people demonstrates that they are accepted fully into white society only by default when they have skin colour sufficiently light to 'pass' as white, so that their handicap is no longer visible and they are in fact accepted as 'white', not Aboriginal. Aborigines speak sometimes bitterly of the 'acceptance' that comes through sport, or the acceptance of the 'token' Aborigine on committees, or the appointment of the 'token' Aborigine in the public service[2].

While the tribal people are willing to integrate those who wish to be part of their group, whether white or part-Aboriginal, they see the urbanised part-Europeans as a group different from themselves. The degree of 'blood' or 'colour' neither forms a bond nor a basis for rejection. They feel sympathy, but not identity with those who

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[1]This has been discussed in detail above, with reference to the identification of urban Aborigines by non-Aborigines, p.117 ff.

[2]See Coe, in Tatz (ed.), 1975:109, 69, and taped interviews S.A.I.T.

grew up separated from their tribal relatives and rejected by their white relatives. They had no knowledge of either the Law or the culture of the tribal people from whom they were estranged.

These two problems are quite separate and distinct and to attempt to solve them both by giving the part-Europeans power over us and to pretend they have in some strange way special knowledge of our problems is merely to make an already confused situation more confused.

The part-European has neither the culture nor the historical right to the land (Strelley submission to the Land Rights meeting, Jameson, May 1st, 1978)[1].

The marrngu complain (Mikurrunya 27.2.81:2) that "uninitiated men who do not have any right under marrngu law have been given permission by the Lands Trust to occupy Sacred Land".

12.23 Interaction with other tradition-oriented groups

In the case of other Aboriginal people, the Strelley Mob would wish them to be not necessarily full members of their group, but to have the commonality of being 'saved' by coming within the Law. Nevertheless, full membership is given only when individuals meet the 'qualifications' of the group by attaining the different stages open to them.

Basic to the evolving tribal structure is the Law. All aspects of life are subjugated to the Law; it is in keeping the Law that the people see themselves surviving as a people, and renewing themselves spiritually.

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[1]The question may be asked as to whether or not there was a white influence in this statement. The statement in its final form was written by a white man, McLeod. Nevertheless, he has been integrated into the group and made a leader in the Law (Mikurrunya 23.7.79:9). Since there is, for the people, no emphasis on colour, but on Law, McLeod is part of the group, like any of the Aborigines. If they have been influenced by his thinking, it can be argued that this is a good example of how knowledge is socially constructed. See p. 11, ff. above.

12.3 The Law

One result of the keeping of the Law is order, the building of a stable social structure. The Law today is made by the people for the people. It is not merely a ritually preserved tradition, but a modern day interpretation of the past, giving meaning to a changed present. Adaptation of the Law is essential for the social construction of identity.

12.31 Adaptation of the Law

Adaptations can be seen in the application of the Law. In the times of starvation following the walk off from stations many died. Those aspects of the Law which militated against the survival of the people were subsequently abandoned (e.g. tribal punishments or practices which might lead to death)[1].

The men made the following statements to Commissioner Bruce Debelle of the Law Reform Commission:

> They told him that whitefellars should not mess about with Aboriginal law and change it just to suit the whitefella. They told him that the old law for spearing people had been banned by the group since 1946 and how they talk to people who are going against the marrngu way. They showed the Commission how strong the Law is in this place. How the marrngu way of dealing with such things as marriages, children's upbringing and deaths is still right for the people and should be left alone by the whitefella. They told him about how the people have changed the Aboriginal Law to help run the stations and develop their economic life. How these changes are made by the people and not outsiders (Mikurrunya, 6.4.81:3).

The leaders in the Law at Strelley are conscious of their responsibility to and for other Aboriginal people. In September 1979 Aboriginal people gathered at Strelley from thousands of miles

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[1]Taped interview.

away - from La Grange, Carnarvon, Wilma, Giles, Warburton and Jigalong to take part in the marlurlu ceremony.

> The leading Desert Lawmen are trying to encourage people from all areas to re-establish traditional law so that all their communities will be strong enough to cope with problems such as the trouble caused by grog (Mikurrunya 29.10.79:8).

12.32 The Law and White Religion

Within the Aboriginal world the Law and Religion are one. The breakdown of the Law is seen as based in two sources. One is found in those incursions of the Christian religion which destroy essential integral components of the Law, in particular it breaks down authority structures and thus results in anomie, leaving individuals without a world view from within which identity is nurtured and strengthened.

The other source of destruction is the contact with government agencies and white culture.

The problem of alcoholism is seen in great part as a result of the breakdown of the Law due to these influences. The activities of people judged to be agents of the Government are seen as causing a 'grog' problem. The supplying of alcohol to Aborigines in the Kimberleys on the voting day for State elections in 1980 was seen by Aborigines as only one act in a long history of station people and Government employees wanting Aborigines to be dependent on alcohol, or destroyed by alcohol, respectively.

> During the state election a whiteman tried to get the Aboriginal voters at Turkey Creek drunk so that they could not vote. He took a 44 gallon drum of port wine, flagons of 'plonk' and cartons of beer and gave it to the people before voting started. The man said he wanted to get the Aborigines drunk, "because they don't have the brains to vote" (Mikurrunya, 19.3.80:9).

The world which includes the Law so strongly and which is seen as protecting the people from the evils of the white world is poignantly described in an article by Jacob Oberdoo, Snowy Jitamurra and Crow Youkarla, leaders in the group (Mikurrunya, 28.11.79).

They condemn white men for introducing grog; missions for saying the "old way was rubbish, they left the old people on the woodheap"; government for undermining the authority of the elders of the tribe, and "picking the marta marta bloke and putting him in the middle". To summarize their statement:

> The law must be structured and restructured.
> The law must be obeyed (otherwise anomie will result).
> The law is articulated by the elders.

12.33 The Mob and 'white fella's'law

The community does not reject or ignore the white man's law. On the contrary,it has a respect for law other than its own, despite the fact that the white man's law, and Christian law[1] are seen as often working against the interests of the Aborigines (cf. Tonkinson, 1974:passim).

For the elders of the Mob, historically going to gaol has been an occasion of pride[2]- they were gaoled unjustly again and again in their fight for freedom and self-determination[3], a fight that continues to this day[4].

This is not the case for their young people who must be protected from those consequences of their deeds which are seen as destructive of the individual[5]. The Community, in order to meet the 'whitefella's legal system' and at the same time to protect and strengthen its

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[1]The lawmen believe the Christian Law too is a strong law: it would be good for the Christians if they kept it (Interview).

[2]Taped interview.

[3]Taped interview. The leaders of the strike, Dooley, Clancy McKenna and Don McLeod were put in gaol (Mikurrunya 20.8.79:6).

[4]One hundred and fifty people from Strelley blocked the N.W. highway to prevent the passing of a military style convoy of trucks and police carrying a rig to drill for oil on sacred land at Noonkanbah. Over twenty people were arrested. This confrontation with the full force of the white man's law required a great deal of courage for people who remember the suffering and massacre of their people as things of the very recent past (Mikurrunya, 21.8.80:3).

[5]There is a striking difference between this community and detribalised Aboriginal people where going to gaol is a commonplace, an almost inescapable fact of life. It is often difficult for urban Aboriginal people to remember the number of occasions spent in gaol on the basis of a particular conviction.

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

members has organized a system whereby one of the important men takes responsibility within the community for the observance of white law. He appears in the white man's court with offenders. Where it is judged appropriate, a fine, if imposed, is paid from community funds.

Where the delinquency has been against tribal norms, long discussions take place to arrive at an appropriate form of retribution, over and above the punishment white society metes out. The 'elder in white man's law' personally takes responsibility for young men on parole, for their supervision and for presenting them at court[1]. Miscreants then 'pay their debt to society' within the community, in activities through which they are integrated back into the community.

Thus it was possible to observe at Warralong two young girls in punishment, in the care of one of the 'strong-minded' women of the group. The girls were set to work to weed and plant in the community garden (a project which was a source of pride to the community). Caroline, a dignified middle-aged lady, not merely supervised the girls; she worked with them.

A number of issues can be discerned here. The protection and upholding of white law through a western oriented punishment (work as a punishment) is noted. The very notion of cultivating a vegetable garden is not part of tribal history - and indeed the establishment of vegetable gardens are in an early, uneasy stage at one other station. On the other hand, the notion of working with those being punished is entirely alien to western practice. Manifestly, in this Strelley/Warralong situation, punishment is purposeful, integrating individuals back into the group, instead of destroying their ties with their people and destroying them as individuals - a situation which frequently happens when Aborigines are subjected to 'white man's law' in the urban situation.

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[1] Taped interview.

12.34 The white community and the Law

Just as the tribal people have accommodated to the white man's law, so they expect white people employed by them to accommodate to their Law.

Teachers employed must sign a contract agreeing not to bring alcohol to community property, an agreement that is scrupulously observed [1].

While being infinitely tolerant with regard to unwitting transgressions of protocol through ignorance, there are areas which the Aboriginal people believe to be sufficiently important to exact compliance. One is in the use of alcohol. The people noted that

> ...there have been several deaths at Jigalong recently. Snowy, Jacob and Crow are very worried about this because they believe that it is grog that is causing the deaths. They say that if those people had come to Strelley they could have been kept away from grog and the killings would not have happened.
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> "Grog is the way that whitemen have ruined our people", Snowy said, "and we should keep away from it" (Mikurrunya, 2.9.79:4).

The Law is, of course, silent about alcohol which was unknown before the coming of the whiteman.

However, the cohesion of the group is a matter for the Law. Hence embargos on alcohol are easily legitimated to support the symbolic universe of the Mob. The Law provides a frame of reference giving cohesion to the group. This cohesion is further strengthened by the conscious cultivation of autonomy, which in turn, is characterised by political independence.

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[1] Taped interview, personal observation.

12.4 Autonomy of the group

12.41 Political independence through the Law

In the case of the Strelley Mob, the strengthening and maintaining of the Law becomes a point of reference determining the direction and character of change of the group and strengthens, for the group, the sense of autonomy, of political independence which first emerged as a force at the six weeks of meetings at Skull Spring.

One of the more obvious areas in which this autonomy is exercised is in decision making in the area of schooling.

The Station was purchased in 1972 and a Foundation linking its name to the 'Nomad' identity of the group was incorporated in 1973 to raise funds for housing and education. The Nomads Group itself had been in existence following the meeting of 1942 when the Lawmen of twenty-three scattered tribes assembled at Skull Spring. The group, known as the Nomads Charitable and Education Foundation, together with the Nomads Research Foundation, set out in 1975 to establish a bilingual school at Strelley Station.

> Their aim was to retain and develop their economic independence and cultural integrity separate from white dominated institutions. For this basic reason it had never been intended that Strelley Community school should be a school in the ordinary or commonly accepted sense of the word (Bucknall, 1980).

The result is that the forms of schooling at Strelley become a real alternative to the western model of schooling and do not reflect the ideology or practice of other contemporary school systems, even where these are held to be 'alternative'[1].

Sorokin posits that mere spatial agglomeration does not lead to group cohesion. Rather, the autonomy of a group is dependent upon the existence of 'causal-meaningful bonds'.

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[1] 'Schooling' as part of the total educational thrust, is discussed below, pp. 218, 276. Education was always of paramount importance in Aboriginal life.

12.42 Autonomy - causal-meaningful bonds V. spatial agglomeration

Missions and reserves which provided for Aborigines spatial agglomeration did not, in themselves, provide a basis for unity of purpose and a sense of autonomy. Rather, in most cases the group was acted upon, as at Jigalong, by external forces attempting to wean the Aborigines from the value system of the elders.

Tonkinson (1974:67) found at Jigalong a dislike and resentment at police intervention. He viewed the situation of Aboriginal/missionary relationships as one of unstable accommodation,in which interests remained to a large extent antagonistic, despite the fact that "a temporary adjustment occurs as the two groups adapt to immediate realities" (Tonkinson, 1974:130).

The Aborigines at Jigalong resented the missionaries' use of corporal punishment, their protection of older girls from matters which concerned tribal practice, the withholding of pension payments for mission use (Tonkinson, 1974:132).

Nevertheless, the missionaries were seen as a special species of whitefella, and according to Tonkinson

> The Aborigines have accepted the presence of whites without question and do not seem preoccupied with questions about having been dispossessed or exploited by the whites (Tonkinson, 1974:112).

This is not true of the Strelley Mob, whose history was one of striving against exploitation, who remember being taken off in chains by police, who recall bloodshed in neighbouring towns. In this sense Strelley differs from 'reserve'/'mission' Aborigines, who may be strongly motivated to retain their Law, but who are subject to the external pressures of the reserve/mission and its norms, both social and economic, and who must resort to various strategies to maintain their integrity and sense of direction[1].

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[1]Tonkinson (1974:142ff.)cites a deliberately cultivated lack of communication as one of these strategies through which both the missionaries and the Aborigines pursued their own ends while purporting to pursue common aims.

12.43 Autonomy - self-direction from within V. white exploitation

The self-direction of the Strelley Mob is maintained over and against the world of white exploitation. Ironically, the need to counter forces of exploitation allied to the memories of persecution served originally, and continue to serve, as a force to unify the Aboriginal purpose.

Spokesmen appointed for the group by the government are rejected as not being authentic representatives. Authentic representatives come from the people themselves.

In rejecting these people appointed by a white government, the Mob is seeking to transcend the rhetoric of self-determination in order to exercise self-determination in reality.

An example of their attitudes is recorded in the following account:

> On Monday 21st of April several members of the National Aboriginal Conference visited Strelley to talk about a treaty the government would acknowledge that marrngu are the original owners of the land and that compensation is due to marrngu for the loss of that land. In reply. Don, Snowy and Jacob said that they believed the N.A.C. did not represent the marrngu of Western Australia. They said that it was a group of marta marta[1] elected by marta marta and working for the government. It therefore could not negotiate for the Strelley Mob or other tribal marrngu. The visitors did not accept this and after some lively exchanges of view the meeting broke up. The NAC[2] members returned to town with the DAA[3] officer who accompanied them (Mikurrunya, 23.4.80:2)

Part-Europeans, unknown to the community and not appointed by them, were rejected as spokesmen. On the other hand, on specific occasions the two white Principals are asked to speak for the people

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[1]Marta marta is the designation for part-European.

[2]N.A.C., National Aboriginal Conference.

[3]Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

in the limited sense of conveying the wishes of the Mob, partly because of their command of English, but also because of the trust placed in them[1].

At Noonkanbah a young Aborigine with a command of English, but without tribal status, was appointed by the tribal elders to convey the community's wishes to the Amax Mining Company, to governmental and other authorities. He could not speak for himself, nor can the Principals. Their assigned role, in specific circumstances is to communicate on behalf of the people what the people themselves have decided.

The people maintain the values of their vision of their 'world' of autonomy as a group, their right to self-determination. White people's law does not meet their needs. Self-appointed white people cannot speak for them. Nor can their spokesmen be Aboriginal people who are western-oriented, their background a different 'world' which does not share the same meaning systems as that of the tribal people.

'Bush' meetings were set up in the seventies by government agencies in an attempt to de-bureaucratize decision making processes and involve Aboriginal people in decision-making. They are not seen as appropriate by Aboriginal people because of the constitution of such meetings which do not observe correct authority structures, and because of the method of making decisions and communicating decisions. These meetings are not seen as effectively conveying the wishes of the people. They are for this reason disregarded by those responsible for communicating decisions.

Politically, the leadership of the group remains within the group. At the same time, the Mob is politicised in the narrower sense of interaction with party politics.

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[1]The white teachers also have a distinction, not granted to the marta marta; they have a place in the kinship groupings. However, the white teachers reject the notion that they are 'spokesmen' in any sense. They have no right to add or subtract from their message or modify it in any way that is based on their own interpretation of the situation.

12.44 Autonomy and interaction with the Government

(i) Party politics

In the narrower sense of politics, that equated with party politics, the people are very conscious of the need to distinguish between party platforms, to vote in an informed way[1]. The retaining of political autonomy is seen as most important to the group. They have been highly politically conscientised since their strikes of the 1940s. In this respect they differ markedly from the Jigalong Mob which Tonkinson (1974:112) reported as not accepting, in 1963, the opportunity to vote in forthcoming state elections, fearing they might vote, unknowingly, for someone who might be opposed to Aboriginal law.

The interest of the Strelley Mob in State and Federal politics stems from their desire to maintain their own political autonomy within their group. They are well aware that despite their withdrawal from white society they are subject to both the manifest and latent functions of government policy-making.

A visitor involved in training Aboriginal teachers showed the men a newspaper article with a photograph of an Aboriginal man from the Warburton Ranges. The article praised the man's prowess at football. The visitor, motivated by great goodwill, put the young footballer forward as someone with whom Aboriginal youth could identify, and suggested the school set up a football oval and encourage the sport.

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[1] In the 1980 election of Western Australia, Peter Dowding, ALP, (Legislative Council) and Ernie Bridge ALP, (Legislative Assembly) "were well supported by Aboriginal voters because they promised to help Aboriginals in their fights for land rights and self-management" (Mikurrunya, Vol. 2, No. 1:4).

John Tozer, Liberal candidate for the Legislative Assembly was given the following obituary: "John Tozer visited Strelley on the 10th February. He said that the Liberal Party believed in one law for all people. He said that some Aboriginal communities had the right to make by-laws to control things like grog and fighting. However, this has to be done using the whiteman's legal system" (Mikurrunya, Vol. 2, No. 1:7).

He was rather disconcerted by the unexpected response that the Mob felt it was more important to learn how to vote than to play football.

The mob is well aware that Party policies differ on a crucial issue for Aborigines - Land Rights. They differ also on policies of assimilation, self-determination - that is, on policies affecting Aboriginal groups as discrete political entities.

12.44

(ii) Autonomy and government intervention

The autonomy that is real in the world of Strelley is dependent on the goodwill of a number of groups in Government.

The Mob continues to exercise and strengthen the autonomy of the Strelley 'world' vis-à-vis the world of white society. The search for identity, however, rests on a fragile base. It depends on many complex interactions with other groups. It is subject to the unforeseen consequences and perhaps even unintended consequences of the pursuit by other groups of their aims and objectives which may be, and often are, in conflict with those of the Strelley Mob.

For some time, in addition to income from the station, the Mob will be dependent upon financial support coming from Schools Commission grants, secondary study grants, and welfare benefits. Such support will depend on the interpretation of policy and law by the agencies concerned. The Mob will be dependent upon Government support in its funding, upon Government support in recognising it as an independent school, upon the sympathetic understanding of school inspectors and their capacity to structure an alternative evaluation for an alternative school. Currently that support is present, and the autonomy of the group is real, though insecure, to the extent it is dependent on outside factors.

12.45 Autonomy and the white world

(i) The Nomads

Strelley needs to interact with the white world in order to obtain supplies of food, clothing, building materials, etc. and to arrange for marketing of cattle. The Nomads organisation operates from Perth for this purpose.

The accountants and staff in Perth, while identifying themselves with the Mob and its needs, nevertheless have to relate to a white value system that is at odds with that of the tribal world. It is conceivable that at times there will be differences in points of view taken in Perth and Strelley, and that the Mob will, in fact, be dependent to some extent upon the good offices and judgement of Perth, and their ability to manage financial arrangements without undermining the autonomy of Strelley.

(ii) White teaching staff

While the teachers are employed by the Mob, and are carefully screened, they nevertheless bring with them a history of integration into the different value system of white society into which they themselves were socialised as the 'given' world.

The Mob is dependent upon the white staff to be sensitive to the reality construction that is taking place, and to be 'strong minded' to the degree that their own identity is not threatened in their efforts to interact with the Mob, in the process of building identity with them.

It must be recognised that when white teachers undertake employment they also undertake in some cases a re-orientation of their own identity - that is their location in society.

12.45

(iii) Business interests

The autonomy of the Strelley 'world' is confronted by the interests of big business - in particular activities of mining companies.

In the case of the Strelley Mob, the possible problems arising from the intrusion of mining companies have been connected not so much with their own sacred sites as with their cohesion with other groups (e.g. Noonkanbah) who have been threatened with the desecration of their sacred sites by miners. The history of the Mob and their actions in the Noonkanbah crisis suggest strongly that if mining options were taken up on their stations they would feel obligated to protect the sacred sites of the traditional owners.

However, the greatest danger from mining would appear to come from the miners themselves and the possibility of an influx of Europeans bringing with them values and attitudes rejected by the Aboriginal people.

A further possible danger from the intrusion of the white world lies in Government plans to develop tourist routes, which would cause disruption of the Aboriginal way of life.

12.46 Autonomy and interaction with other Aboriginal groups

The contemporary world of Strelley involves interactions with other Aboriginal groups. These are partly concerned with ceremonies and rituals, an area contexted within the encompassing universe of the Law. With respect to the Law, the Aborigines have themselves become missionaries actively seeking to help others return to the Law.

The contacts thus established have resulted also in a desire on the part of other groups to establish community schools (Noonkanbah, Alice Springs)[1] a clear manifestation of movement towards

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[1] In early 1982 a meeting of people interested in independent Aboriginal schools was held in Darwin. Five other independent schools, in addition to the Strelley group, were represented.

self-determination now spreading beyond Strelley itself[1], a movement within which control of schooling is seen as essential.

12.47 Autonomy and the economic structures of the group

The traditional way of life of the Aborigines has been denied them by the usurpation of their land.

Members of the Strelley Mob after walking off cattle stations lived by prospecting, gathering pearl shell and living off the land. They sought first to lease, and later buy cattle stations in order to achieve economic independence in occupations that tradition-oriented Aborigines in the north of Western Australia knew best - work on cattle stations.

Strelley station was known as the station most subjected to over-grazing in the area. All kangaroos (a source of food for the people) had been poisoned. Characteristically, this was the only station made available to the Aborigines. It is still in the process of rehabilitation. Carlindi, Warralong and more recently Lala Rookh, were taken over as enterprises which could in the future become economically viable[2].

The community share their income from social security funds and station proceeds. This practice may be seen as the result of an interaction between two traditions, a mutation of the rules governing sharing in tribal days, and a new practice devised to keep alive during the strike and its aftermath. The funds provide for the aged, the sick and youth.

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[1]Cf. taped version of a community meeting at Turkey Creek, where the people defied the missionaries in expressing their wish to control their own school.

[2]This must be understood in relative terms. The stations could be returned to the point where they would support one white family. They could support only at a low standard of living a kinship group of Aborigines.

It is from this sharing that funds are provided for the meetings for religious ceremonies and the hospitality that goes with this, for the plant and for maintenance costs, for food and general running costs.

It is clear that there is a connection between economic autonomy and political autonomy. Self-determination without economic autonomy is a hollow notion. In this connection it has been pointed out above that the situation of economic dependence whether on cattle stations, missions or reserves, meant that the Aborigines were subject to the domination of an alien culture, which in most cases set out to destroy Aboriginal culture, whether from ideological or economic motives. Economic dependence brings also cultural dependence.

The goal of economic independence is seen as laying a basis for political independence, for a return to the authority of the elders, an authority based in the Law, an authority that feels confident in rejecting the advances of agents not authorised within the Law.

Economic independence is vital to secure the possibility of establishing again an alternative way of life. Government funds, and mission funds are made available to promote those forms of institutionalized[1] behaviour which are held to be important in the knowledge that is part of government and mission worlds.

The defining of what is to be held as knowledge is contingent upon the power base of the dominant group. If Aborigines wish to exercise autonomy, political independence, by establishing a society contiguous to and not dependent on white mainstream society, a necessary condition must be economic independence. Only with economic independence is it possible to establish political autonomy and have a viable alternative way of life.

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[1]The word is used here as defined by Berger, p.44 above.

12.48 Autonomy-Summary

Within its own symbolic universe the Strelley Mob is the dominant group. However, the relationship is changed when seen from the point of view of Australian society as a whole. Strelley's autonomy is then seen as dependent upon a dialectic with other 'worlds'. But above all its autonomy is dependent upon the strength of the model of the world it has constructed, which must be accepted as viable by itself and by others, a model having the possibility of confronting, as a real alternative, the 'world' of mainstream society.

To a certain extent Strelley gains from its isolation. Its alternative structures could be seen as a source of offence to mainstream society if it were in sufficiently close contact to pose a threat which must be suppressed, conceptually or physically. For example, one could conceive that mainstream society in Port Hedland would reflect the negative stereotypical attitudes found by Wundersitz in Maitland (Wundersitz, 1979).

In point of fact, Strelley is close enough to Port Hedland to cause some of this apprehension, rejection and denigration. On the other hand it is thousands of miles from the locus of policy-making in Perth or Canberra.

Nevertheless, its contact by visit and radio with other Aboriginal communities lead to the possibilities of greater cohesion among Aboriginal people that cannot help but threaten a dominant society which incorporates different values.

Those factors which contribute to the continuity of the group will now be examined.

12.5 Factors of continuity of a group

12.51 Inherent factors of continuity

Sorokin itemises the following factors of continuity:

(1) A fairly wide margin of potential variations which meanings, values, norms possess without sacrificing its identity

(2) Selectivity in adopting certain new elements

(3) The development of basic rules and symbols of the group (Sorokin, 1947:382).

Items (1) and (3) have been examined above in discussing the place of the Law within the group, and the possibilities of adaptations. Selectivity in adopting new elements has also been discussed (p.176). Further reference will also be made to this area later (p.241) where certain dangers to the cohesion of the group will be discussed.

12.52 External factors of continuity

These consist of what Sorokin (1947) terms the 'components of the vehicles of the group', for example, property, possessions, language which serve to give group coherence.

The following external factors of continuity will now be examined:

(i) Language
(ii) Territory
(iii) Possessions (a) 'guruwari'
(b) housing
(iv) Schooling

(i) Language

Berger (1971:96, 97) states that language is "the foundation and the instrumentality of the social construction of reality".

Kolig (1977:39-40), studying tradition-oriented Aborigines, saw language as the main determinant for defining man, the human, over and against aliens. He states:

> Language traditionally is seen by Aborigines as of pre-eminent importance and as a determinant of full humanity. Somebody not speaking the same language was not only considered significantly different, but also fundamentally different. The importance of

> intelligible language as constitutive of full humanity in the physical and cultural sense, is reflected in current usage.

Within the Strelley Mob there are different linguistic groups. The Manyjiljarra and Nyangumarta languages however, are predominant.

There are other smaller linguistic sub-groups of the Strelley Mob, who hold inherited ascribed membership in such groups as well as achieved membership within the larger group. Taken as a whole, however, the group is a socially constructed group based on the amalgamation of different languages groups which met at Skull Spring, their common bond at that time being their dismay at the destruction of the Law and their way of life and their exploitation by, and dependence on, white men. Thus there is a group which came together by voluntary acceptance, actively seeking such grouping and hence actively forming a new 'world' transcending the linguistic group structure.

The Mob's two main tribal languages Nyangumarta and Manyjiljarra are strengthened

... through use in daily communication

... in the formal recording of the languages, with tribal linguists working with white linguists

... in the teaching of tribal language in its written form in adult literacy programmes (eventually Aboriginal teachers will control this programme)

... in the use of the vernacular in pre-school programmes

... in the use of the vernacular by teacher aides in school age programmes

... in the production of the Community Newsletter, and reading materials, in English and two Aboriginal languages.

Language is seen by all as a most important vehicle of identity. Teacher-linguists are employed to work with selected adults in the two main languages spoken. These Aboriginal adults are employed in giving the language a literate form, working with other Aboriginal adults and training Aboriginal teachers who will work in literacy programmes, in the vernacular, with early childhood groups.

Aboriginal linguists prepare stories in the vernacular; Aboriginal artists illustrate these stories as part of a literacy programme.

Perhaps, to the observer, the most important indicator of the importance of language is the fact that language groups have tended to 'hive off' naturally into sub-groups. It is on the basis of language, not working skills or any other criteria, that a group has migrated to the nearby station of Lala Rookh[1] taking with them their own Dream-time cycles of song and dance which educate the people into the realities of the Law. As part of the hiving-off process, the people have set up schools to meet their needs.

It is with some surprise then, that one notes the meaning given by Tonkinson to a split in the Jigalong Mob. He comes to the conclusion that the Strelley Mob has divided the Jigalong Mob against itself

> ...along its line of weakest resistance: the basic tribal division between Mandjildjara and Gadudjara speakers (Tonkinson, in Berndt, ed., 1977:71-2).

In view of Kolig's statement quoted above, emphasising the pre-eminence of language in the Aboriginal world, and indeed the definitions of the 'human' by a common language, one cannot help but take the view that the unity of the Jigalong Mob would have to fracture along the lines of language if they too were to preserve their Aboriginal autonomy, and situate themselves within an Aboriginal psychological model of the 'world'[2].

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[1]A further division occurred within this group in 1981 when Manyjiljarra language speakers from Jigalong and others moved to Camp 61.

[2]This is perhaps a good example of an outside person viewing an Aboriginal group through western eyes and judging that a community constructed through (and against) missionary influence is better than the 'natural' one based on the language through which the Law is transmitted.

It seems conceivable at Strelley that, as groups hive off, they will become 'Mobs' by language grouping, e.g. the Lala Rookh Mob, the Warralong Mob, and a social construction that is of an administrative nature will come to encompass the totality.

Tonkinson found 110 out of 500 people from Jigalong identifying themselves as part of the Strelley Mob. A different view of his findings would be that 'Mandjildjara' speakers had migrated to join other 'Mandjildjara' speakers, since within the language they find the true expression of the Law, and that this is a truer expression of autonomy than a unity imposed by spatial agglomeration.

12.52

(ii) Territory

Territory is the second factor of continuity listed by Sorokin.

The territory on which the Strelley Mob lives is not their own traditional tribal territory. Various stations have been bought or leased as this becomes possible[1]. Each station is accessible to the other. The people are deeply aware of the importance of territory as a vehicle of meaning for Aboriginal groups. They zealously protect the nearby sacred areas of other groups (Mikurrunya, 2.10.79).

In the well-publicised confrontation of the people from Noonkanbah and the Amax Company in 1980, the Strelley Mob gave a great deal of moral support to the Noonkanbah Mob, and were arrested for obstructing the passage of heavy machinery (Mikurrunya, 23.4.80, 21.8.80). They saw the confrontation clearly as one threatening the identity of the Noonkanbah group through the encroachment of the mining group on their sacred land.

In the case of the Strelley Mob, while the land they own is not their own tribal land, nevertheless it has become a vehicle of identity since it has become an integral part of their history.

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[1]Strelley, Carlindi and Callawa were bought from pooled community funds. Warralong and Coongan are leasehold properties held by the Aboriginal Development Commission and operated by Strelley Pastoral Pty. Ltd., a company owned by the Strelley Mob.

12.52

(iii) Possessions

(a) 'Guruwari'

Nancy Munn, an anthropologist working in Walbiri country, recorded the following conversation:

> A Walbiri man once remarked to me that the white fellow had no guruwari. Others expressing the contrast between their own way of life and that of the white Australian referred to possession of guruwari as a critical difference. One said: 'the whitefellow owns books and pencils, little things, but the possessions of the Walbiri are large important things: guruwari and country' (Munn, in Reay, ed., 1964:86).

Munn explained that the term 'guruwari' was used for ancestral designs, replete with symbolism, and for the power and the strength with which the ancestors of Aborigines had inseminated the soil.

Obviously, if such importance is placed on guruwari and land, to be stripped of them is to be stripped of a most powerful source of identity. Because of white intrusion, it is not possible for Aboriginal group identity to be a static 'given'. The rape of Aboriginal tribal lands means that if a group is to survive as a group, new components of identity must be built, quite consciously. The world of guruwari and land is no longer the world 'tout court'. It is a world that must be worked on with new guruwari incorporated into the Law.

The sacred objects of the Mob, their 'guruwari', their special possessions have been carried with them and continue to form a stable link between present and past. The notion of possession of sacred sites, for themselves and others, continues to be of paramount importance.

12.52

(iii) Possessions

(b) Housing

Sir Charles Court, Premier of Western Australia until 1982, disagreed with the views of Senator Chaney, Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs who encouraged the leasing of cattle stations. Court gave his view that many of the stations were "little more than camps at which hundreds of people lived in sub-standard conditions on the proceeds of welfare cheques" (Mikurrunya, 20.8.79).

It is true that the people have lived in makeshift housing. However, they would like better housing. Mikurrunya (27.2.81) gives an account of an impassioned plea by Jacob Oberdoo for more money for housing, designed to meet the needs of the community[1].

Mikurrunya (3.10.80, 7.12.81, 27.2.81) gives an account of work on ten new houses, progress on work at Jacob's camp, and extra rooms for houses at Middle Camp and Top Camp and alterations at Ginger's Camp[2].

However, the Mob assigned the first buildings to the school - a pledge of the priority given to schooling. Teachers originally were housed in two permanent buildings, transportable buildings and caravans. Both teachers and community made considerable sacrifices, the former recognising the priorities held by the Mob.

The Mob was able to wait for better housing since it put its identity within the Law. In a real sense 'home' for the Mob, order out of chaos, lies in the Law[3]. Nevertheless sub-standard housing

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[1]A visiting architect suggested to Jacob various ways in which he might construct his house. Jacob listened patiently, but closed discussion with the remark, "I've been thinking about this house for fifty years".

[2]The people at the Strelley homestead group themselves into eight camps spread over a length of 8 kilometres, with schools at three of the camps.

[3]The contrast is obvious between the situation of the Mob and of white communities in general. The same contrast may be found in Third World countries. In South America, the poor of the barrios, having graduated from houses of cardboard and bamboo fronds to packing case houses, long for numbers on their houses, a sign of order out of chaos, a link to security of identity, a contexting into western practice (Research interviews, Recife, Brazil; Santiago, Chile, 1974/1981).

has been a source of real sacrifice for both marrngu and staff.

12.52

(iv) Schooling

'Schooling' as such was not part of the traditional Aboriginal 'world'. Education on the other hand was of pre-eminent importance. 'Schooling' is an introduced element - a mystery[1] of the white man's world that is seen to be important in the evolving Aboriginal structures contiguous to white society.

The aims of schooling for the Strelley Mob are precise - the white teachers are responsible for numeracy and literacy in English, the marrngu will ultimately be responsible for teaching the vernacular and for education in its widest sense.

Schooling is a specific, limited part of education, integrated within the station economy, the curriculum geared to specific ends relating to the economy. There is not the disjunction between ends and means that confronts the youth of the nearby town. Strelley Community School is what its name implies - an alternative independent school embedded in the total community structure and under the control of the people themselves.

Schooling is currently carried on at four separate locations - at Strelley, and three off-shoots - Warralong and Lala Rookh and Camp 61[2].

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[1]Stanner tells of meeting a 'supremely competent hunter' who could have continued to live in the wilderness, but had come to strike a bargain with civilization.

> "What decided him, or so he said, was that he had heard about something called 'a school' and that it was good for children, so he took them in to let them find a new life and a new identity" (Stanner, 1969:55).

[2]Lala Rookh school was established in 1980; Camp 61 was established in 1981. Noonkanbah school is also affiliated with the Nomads group.

At Warralong the emphasis for older school-age boys is towards pastoral activities, as doubtless it will be at Lala Rookh.

At Strelley there was an emphasis on an office girl's programme developed to meet the needs of the administrative centre, and a carpentry workshop for boys. The new schools at Lala Rookh and Camp 61 together with the other two schools, have programmes which, in each case have as a focus the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills. In each location there is an emphasis on the vernacular directed towards -

> an adult literacy programme, which is also largely a teacher education program
>
> the introduction of reading in the vernacular at the commencement of the school programme
>
> preparation of materials in the vernacular - composing, illustrating and printing such material.

The school age children are divided in a way that reinforces the traditional classificatory system of the Western Desert. The teachers are also assigned positions within this system. Pre-schools are taken for the most part by marrngu teachers, bridging groups by white and marrngu, and older age children by white teachers, assisted by marrngu. Adult classes in the vernacular may be taken by either.

Classes are conducted in the open to meet the climatic constraints, under bough shelters constructed by the people themselves[1]. Observation of classroom activities are coincidental to the comings and goings of the adult population, as well as parental involvement in some form of teaching function.

Adults within the classroom situation perform a role that for some is a reflection of the western-style teaching, taking over the role and function of the white teacher who is released for other work. For others the teaching role is a socializing role.

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[1] A 'proper' school was under construction at Warralong in 1982.

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Education in its wider sense is the responsibility of the whole community. Not only the school board (which has as secretaries the two white Principals), but at times the whole community, meets to discuss school issues at length. Problems of 'discipline' are seen as community problems with one 'important man' ultimately responsible for this area at each school.

Since schooling is on-going, it is not meaningful to talk of primary or secondary education. The skills needed for sewing programmes, or for typing or sheepbreeding might be classified in another 'world' as secondary or post-secondary. Within the community such a classification has no meaning. The gaining of skills is directed towards specific ends rather than representing stages.

Moreover, the specific ends connected with running a cattle station and therefore, by derivation, the specific ends of schooling are subsumed under one generalized end, self-determination.

The direction of change in schooling is contexted within the boundaries of the total causal-meaningful system. Hence schooling is conceived of in a mode that is alternative to mainstream schools in practice and not merely in theory.

So far, there has been a consideration of factors leading to continuity. Sorokin also details the factors leading to group destruction, in particular that of size.

12.6 Factors leading to the destruction of the group

12.61 Size

Sorokin views the size of the group as one of the factors containing within itself the possibility of the destruction of the group.

The categorize of size is obviously a problem area. Traditionally Aboriginal groups were small, bound to a locality by ties of descent and kinship as well as religion (Berndt and Berndt, 1981).

Berndt and Berndt (1981:43) suggest a maximum of 50 adults and children, usually far fewer, as making up a horde - the self-sufficient group coming together at ceremonial times into a larger group of 150 or so.

However, it was family that was the basic unit of everyday social living.

Tonkinson (1974:17), in discussing the neighbouring Jigalong Mob, states that the people of this area belonged to an exogamous, patrilineal landholding group, travelling for hunting purposes as a 'horde' of from one to three patrilineally linked families. The linguistic unit was larger and was composed of local groups related by marriage. In pre-contact days, these groups would come together once or twice a year to discuss matters in common, to settle grievances and above all to hold ritual assemblies.

The settlement of a large group intent on preserving/adapting the traditional Law on a non-productive station contains within it the seeds of disintegration of purpose, and lack of unity. The size, related to traditional usage, becomes unwieldy. The diversity of language presents a problem not found traditionally. The distribution of roles becomes problematic.

The problems inherent in size, are being solved by the Strelley Mob as a secondary consequence of the hiving off into different stations by different language groups - Nyangumarta speakers to Warralong, Manyjiljarra speakers to Lala Rookh, and Camp 61, with the original station used for administrative purposes. The reduction of the size of the group into sub-groups provides the possibility not only of greater cohesion within the smaller groups, with opportunity for leadership and training in leadership, but also in raised living standards and better health[1].

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[1] Interview with health worker.

The social construction of a group and its continuity depends also upon the ability of the group to objectivate theorizing with which members of the group are able to interact.

The theorizing of the Mob will now be examined in Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XIII

THEORIZING/INDOCTRINATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ABORIGINAL WORLD IN WHICH IDENTITY IS LOCATED

13.1 Indoctrination

In the social construction of reality, it is of the first importance, according to Sorokin (1947:388), that leaders use every method possible for continuous inculcation of values, norms, meanings.

Sorokin sees indoctrination in all forms as most essential, particularly in the area of the law-norms of a group.

Berger places similar importance on the necessity for theorizing, that is, objectivating meanings:

> Men not only experience themselves, they explain themselves. Every socially constructed world contains a psychological model. Once formed the psychological model can act back upon the psychological reality. The model has *realizing* potency (Berger, 1971:98).

There is abundant evidence in the social construction of the Strelley 'world' of the awareness of the need for indoctrination, the need for theorizing to project a model of the 'world' with which individuals may interact to form identity.

In the analysis of theorizing which now follows, it is possible to see the Mob's theorizing patterned in ways that reflect Sorokin's (1947:381 ff) analysis of the inherent and external factors of group continuity.

The theorizing dwells on the component of the vehicles of the group e.g., language, territory and life-history. The theorizing is brought to bear with great emphasis on the development of symbols and basic rules of the group (Sorokin, 1947:382). In particular, the theorizing constantly brings every facet of life back within the law-norms, contexting the whole of life within the Law.

There is theorizing about "the adoption of certain new elements that do not destroy the identity of the group" (Sorokin, 1947:382).

The school is one of these approved elements. There is theorizing about the rejection of those elements seen as inappropriate, for example, 'grog', going to prison, interaction with white culture. There is continual theorizing about the relationships of the Mob with other groups in society, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal (Sorokin, 1947:385).

Above all, there is theorizing about the autonomy of the group.

All this theorizing may be seen as revealing and strengthening the Mob's cohesion and causal-meaningful system. Sorokin gives the following analysis of a causal-meaningful system as opposed to a congerie, a spatial agglomeration.

> The causal meaningful system has its own self-directing force that keeps its unified integrity in different conditions, that controls its functions, that determines (from within) the direction and character of its change, and gives to it a margin of autonomy from all external forces that try to disrupt its unity, influence its functions and condition its change (Sorokin, 1947:155).

13.2 Theorizing to support the model of the Strelley 'world'

It has been shown that the social structures of the Mob are not 'closed' social structures, resistant to change. The group is continually 'becoming', continually adapting to new situations. All such changes result from lengthy group meetings where the whole group is involved in defining issues, considering solutions, and working at solutions agreed to by the whole, solutions that are integrated into their overall theorizing - the Law. Some changes are innovations with far reaching consequences. However, since change is the result of a theorizing that is clearly articulated and communicated, it is accepted by all and occurs without sudden disjunctions.

The Law may be taken as the articulation of the theorizing of the Mob. The restoration of the Law is subject to a continuous process of theorizing.

13.3 Theorizing concerning the restoration of traditional Law

A mine of theorizing touching on the restoration of the Law is found in the Mikurrunya newsletters. The 'important men' stress the importance of the Law again and again[1].

The strongest emphasis is placed on theorizing about the return of authority to the older people[2]. There is a theorizing about the strengthening of ceremonies and rituals, areas of great import for the indoctrination of individuals into the symbolic universe of Strelley[3].

A theorizing about the sacredness of territory is found in accounts of the protection of the sacred sites of other tribal groups[4], and the willingness to risk arrest for offering passive resistance to mining equipment passing their holdings on the way to Noonkanbah[5].

The solidarity with the people of Noonkanbah, in their resistance to the invasion of the Amax mining group and the Government in 1980-81, is based in the Law, and is a result of the theorizing of the group. Mining is not restricted per se. The people themselves

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1 Mikurrunya 29.10.79 Things must be done the marrngu way.
28.11.79 Marrngu are the boss - not missions or Government who destroy the people.
6.4.81 Strength and vitality of the Law.

2 28.11.79 Young Marrngu people must go by old people.

3 8.10.81 Marrngu from all North very involved in 'business'.

4 23.4.80 Sympathy with anxiety of Noonkanbah people over desecration of sacred sites.
2.10.79 Prevention of desecration of sacred sites at Woodstock.
8.10.81 Return visit to tribal lands.
27. 2.81 Concern over land rights at Broome(uninitiated people given rights).

5 3.10.80 Support for people of Noonkanbah who "continue to resist their spiritual destruction".
21.8.80 Strelley people block path of mining rig.

have been miners. It is resisted because the influx of fortune-seekers destroys the people's way of life and destroys the sacredness of their 'vehicles' of religion.

There is a constant theorizing about the importance of the family, of kinship groupings, of avoidance relations[1]. The very construction of the school-age classes and adult classes, in a manner in which people are not brought into 'wrong' relationships, is evidence of a theorizing about how to manage the traditional relationships in a non-traditional area.

13.4 Theorizing about protection of structures - rejection of alien theorizing

Some of the theorizing is concerned with the protection of existing structures through a fight against alien, encroaching structures that threaten the integrity of the evolving model of Aboriginal life. Various components of white society can be identified as the 'enemy'.

Theorizing against a force is a powerful unifier. The countering of heresies is well known as a source of unity both for those rejecting the heresy, and those rejected. Similarly the Mob is able to pronounce:

> This is what we say: the mission has failed, the government failed. Their time is finished. It is our turn now (Mikurrunya 28.11.79).

The denunciation of the enemy is seen in attacks against the government:

> The government said it will help with the young people, teach them to work for the community. But what happened? You let the government in and the young people go rotten. Every time. We have seen it all around (Mikurrunya, 28.11.79). But they told him (Debelle, Law Reform Commission) the story of how the Western Australian Government and White-fellas are breaking the Aboriginal people and making their Law weak (Mikurrunya, 6.4.81).

White advisers from the Government are rejected: Advisers are

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[1] Mikurrunya 6.4.81. Report to Law Commission on Strength of Law concerning marriage; on the proper education of young people.

> ... supposed to be helping but only made matters worse by taking young people from their parents and then they came back drunk as well (Mikurrunya, 28.11.79).

13.5 Theorizing about the protection of the autonomy of the group

For the 'Mob', autonomy is not a reified notion, as democracy is for the west. If the people are not self-determining they are lost as a group, for their whole way of life is seen by them as structurally alternative. The preservation of autonomy implies a resistance to those wishing to impose their world view on the marrngu.

There is strong theorizing about the Government's attempts to assimilate the marrngu into white society, about the personnel of the Government offering promises not fulfilled. The doubts of the people about the Aboriginal Development Commission incorporate their doubts about all government committees:

> The Aboriginal Development Commission is the new thing. Senator Chaney says it is going to help the blackfellow. The Government is always saying that it helps the blackfellow but we never see it. We only hear the words.
>
> First there was the Native Welfare and the Protector. The Protector was the one who put a chain around our necks.
>
> Native Welfare was the one that stole our land and gave it to the missions.
>
> Native Welfare stole our children from us and made them crazy.
>
> We have the Consultative Committee and the Bush Meeting. We have the Heritage Act and the Museum. They say they are helping the blackfellow. All they do is rubbish the blackfellow and destroy his religion.
>
> We have the N.A.C.[1]. They reckon they are the big bosses. What job do they do? They are not the boss for the blackfellow. They tell us we are going to have a treaty. We say 'Who makes that treaty? You already work for the Government. How can you make a treaty with him?' Now we have the A.D.C.[2]. We've seen the picture of those people. They don't look very different to us (Snowy Judmai and Jack Kurila, Mikurrunya, 3.10.80).

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1 National Aboriginal Commission.

2 Aboriginal Development Commission.

The committees set up by Government are rejected as either harming the people, or not representing the people.

The marrngu affirm their autonomy in theorizing about the self-appointed role and the government-appointed role of the marta marta (the part-European) to be spokesman for the marrngu.

In particular the marrngu theorize that the marta marta take a role to themselves that belongs to tribal people - a role that takes away even the power of the marta marta since the latter subordinate themselves to Government and Government policy.

> On the question of land treaties, Don, Jacob and Snowy said that they believed the marta marta did not represent the marrngu of Western Australia. They said it was a group of marta marta elected by marta marta and working for the government (Mikurrunya, 23.4.80).

13.6 Theorizing about Government and Land Rights

Moreover the traditional people theorized that the allocation of land by the Aboriginal Lands Trust went contrary to tribal Law in that it was allocated to non-tribal, non-initiated people who no longer had the right to it.

> There is a dispute between traditional owners of land across Roebuck Bay from Broome and the Aboriginal LandsTrust. Uninitiated men who do not have any right under marrngu law have been given permission by the Lands Trust to occupy sacred land.
>
> The Strelley Mob will be supporting the traditional owners in their fight to have their rights recognized by the Lands Trust (Mikurrunya, 27.2.81).

The theorizing of tribal people in their fight against further usurpation and desecration of their lands forms a uniting bond. The events connected with Amax mining moving on to sacred sites in 1979/1980 were strongly resisted and formed a basis for a restatement of the Law.

> Aborigines from all over the Kimberleys and the Pilbara gathered at Noonkanbah last week in an attempt to prevent the Amax mining company from drilling on the station. The mining company

is being kept out because they want to drill for oil near sacred sites. The Noonkanbah people are distressed because the government does not recognize how important these sites are in the life of Aboriginal people.

> The memory of an (Amax) bulldozer going straight through a sacred site area in 1979 is still very fresh (Mikurrunya, 19.3.80).

Amax was supported by the Government, which ignored the rights of the marrngu.

13.7 Theorizing about the missions

The activities of missions are denounced and seen as destructive of the Law, since they set out to destroy authority patterns, and to destroy the culture. In theorizing about the activities of missions[1] and rejecting them, the marrngu unite in theorizing also about the power of their Law.

> The missions said they would lift up the young people in their mission school but they only broke them, turned them crazy. Look at Jigalong, that is a mission place. They did a good job of killing the people there. Cundelee is a mission place. The mission did a good job of killing the young people. Nearly every week we bury another one (Mikurrunya, 28.11.79).

Grog is an enemy recognized by all. The people theorize about grog as being the cause of deaths, through the outcome of drunken brawling. The supplying of grog is also seen as an activity of government. The (sedimented) belief is held that the Government in the early days wished the people to die out and supplied grog for this purpose. The people impressed on Dowding, A.L.P. member of the Legislative Council for Western Australia, the fact that

> People were being killed by grog and grog-related disturbances (Mikurrunya 28.11.79).

They were severely disturbed about the deaths at Jigalong:

> There have been several deaths at Jigalong recently. Snowy, Jacob and Crow are very worried about this because they believe that it is grog that is causing the deaths (Mikurrunya, 2.10.79).

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[1] While the missions in general are rejected, individuals may be accepted; a religious sister working with alcoholics at Roebourne was held in esteem.

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13.8 Theorizing about delinquent groups

The Jigalong Mob are denounced for bringing grog to Strelley, for disrupting the ceremonies.

> When the Jigalong people came to Strelley recently many of them brought in grog. We do not allow grog on Strelley. They brought guns too. The kids ran wild. Many things were burnt and smashed up. We protected the sober people from the drunks and that is why no-one got hurt or killed. Some of us got no sleep for five nights.
>
> We are tired of this and we don't want to hear about those crazy people ever again. And we have one question: the D.A.A.[1] says that Strelley spends the government's money the wrong way and Jigalong spends it the right way. Maybe the D.A.A. wants us to kill ourselves too, like those people? Is that the right way to spend money? (Jacob Oberdoo, Snowy Jitamarra and Crow Youkala, Mikurrunya, 29.10.79).

13.9 Theorizing about white society

The corrupting influences of white society are denounced. A particular aspect of this view of white society is shown in the determination of the group not to send their people to teacher training institutions in the city.

The School Board earlier formulated a policy in this regard:

> The school board ... noted that sending people away for training caused many problems. The school Board said that the training should take place on property owned by the Group away from the town. People who wanted to be trained as teachers and work should come from the town to the Marrngu place to learn instead of the town swallowing up the marrngu (Mikurrunya, 2.10.79).

This theorizing was re-stated by a leading Law man at a meeting at Mt. Lawley College of Advanced Education in Perth. All these denunciations of what the group opposes, defines at the same time what it is not, and affirms the cohesion of the group.

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[1] Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

13.10 Theorizing about politicisation

Theorizing about the necessity for the politicisation of the group is brought out in articles on visitors from political parties and the importance of informed voting[1].

The Mob theorize too about the protocol of political interaction. It was noted in the newsletter that:

> The Policy of aggressive confrontation that has been followed by the Court Government is regarded as rude and primitive by Aboriginal people. Those at Noonkanbah wish to settle this dispute by peaceful negotiation (Mikurrunya, 21.8.80:5).

13.11 History of the group as a form of theorizing

The presence of people in the Mob who were participants in the hardships of the fifties leads to a powerful form of theorizing in the accounts of the history of the group.

The long history of police harassment is kept alive. Sambo Bina (Mikurrunya, 29.5.81:6) recounts the Braeside Story wherein innocent Aborigines were killed in a reprisal raid, and others taken in chains to Perth. The same man recounts the Moolyella Story of the 1950s:

> A policeman ... took two other Aborigines and put a chain on their necks and took them to Moolyella. Those two never returned to our camp again.
>
> From this area the policeman grabbed another group of Aborigines. They were taken in chains to the Marble Bar gaol. He took off the chains for them. He asked them who they wanted to speak for them: "The one belonging to us is Don McLeod and he will speak for us" (Mikurrunya, 26.6.81:6).

Ginger Ngukura (Mikurrunya 18.8.81:6; 7.12.81:4) gives an account of police harassment after the strikes:

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1 Examples of this have been quoted above, p. 185.

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> They (the police) shot the dogs in our camps, taking no notice of the blood that flowed on our blankets.
>
> We were very frightened by this shooting but the police did not seem to care.

Snowy Jitammurra, who deals with white man's Law at Strelley, tells the story of the misery of the hard times, when marrngu "were killed, put in chains, made to work" (I Snowy Speak, Mikurrunya, 23.4.81:10).

The 1980/81 harassment of the Noonkanbah people by police, and the imprisonment of Strelley people for resisting the passage of the drilling rig is seen as a continuation of the long history of harassment and courageous resistance.

They theorize about this issue in the following way:

> The people at Noonkanbah are fighting the same fight that the marrngu of the North West have been fighting since white men invaded their land.
> The flame that was lit by the Pilbara strikers in the 1940s is the same flame that the Noonkanbah people are carrying today (Mikurrunya, 23.4.81:6).

The theorizing about the history of the group is made real to young people by visits to actual sites where hardships occurred. School age children are taken to visit the sites of settlements made in the hard times.

In Mikurrunya (28.11.79:6, 7) a photo is reproduced, with Sambo Bina showing people where the store shed and hospital used to be at the old Techelo camp. The Warralong school visited the camps at Techelo and Condon and

> ... saw the place where some of the Mob were living when they were pearl shelling and shooting goats and kangaroos for meat and skins (Mikurrunya 28.11.79:12).

The history of the group preserves memories of harassment of the enemy over and against a united group; it preserves memories of hardships endured together, as a united group.

13.12 Theorizing about the use of the vernacular

The promotion and use of the vernacular is of great significance in the light of Berger's typology - the 'world' into which the Aboriginal child in the Strelley community is born is an Aboriginal world, using Aboriginal language that encompasses meanings, connotations, a 'shared' world not easily translatable into English terms and western concepts. It is through the language that the 'theorizing' of the Aboriginal world is absorbed.

The importance of the language was stressed at an education conference held at Noonkanbah:

> Everybody had a chance to talk about the different problems the school had, to work out ways the school could be used to help the communities grow stronger and more independent. Everyone agreed that one of the most important ways independent Aboriginal schools help their communities was by respecting Aboriginal law and culture. When Aboriginal languages are used in the schools Aboriginal culture is kept strong for the children. Without their languages Aboriginal people lose their culture and law (Mikurrunya, 21.8.80).

Theorizing about the use of the vernacular occurs again and again.

In the new process of literacy in the vernacular, it is the adults who must be instructed first. Thus a second layer of meaning is preserved - the teaching of the vernacular will take place within the context of the marrngu community in a way that maintains its authority structure. Schooling in the vernacular reproduces the traditional educational structure with adults of the community imparting knowledge rather than those outside the community being given this role. Such an arrangement is calculated to unite the community rather than to cause a cleavage between parents and children, with the latter possessing knowledge not given to the parents.

It is not the province of white teachers to teach the vernacular, since it is so inextricably cemented into the culture and Law.

At a meeting of school people from Noonkanbah with the Strelley Mob the following theories were offered:

> Everyone said that the white teachers must learn the Aboriginal languages so they can understand Aboriginal people better. Even so the white teachers will never be able to teach children to read and write Walmajari since they can never understand the piyirnkura way or marrngu way and language properly (Mikurrunya, 21.8.80:8).

This theorizing distances the white people from the marrngu world. The use of the vernacular serves the latent function of providing a further basis of cohesion - those who are not marrngu are excluded. Those excluded become the strangers in Simmel's sense (Wolff, 1950:402-408), looking from the outside, seeking clues to give meaning to social interaction.

Theorizing about the use of the vernacular is contained in the noting of an accomplishment which is a source of great satisfaction and pride.

> Strelley, Warralong, Camp 61 and Kulkarriya are the only schools in Western Australia where children are learning to read in their own language before learning to read in English (Mikurrunya 18.8.81:17).

13.13 White theorizing

The theorizing of the marrngu is supported by white theorizing. John Bucknall, the first Principal of the school, sees the language programme and parental involvement providing the basis for success, both for the school and in the search for identity.

In a discussion paper intended to act as a catalyst for a programme of self-evaluation, having discussed the 'two-edged sword' of 'white' community responsibility and involvement, Bucknall gives his opinion in the following way:

> The Nyangumarta program and more lately the Manyjiljarra (have) provided the clue to what will truly succeed. That and the slow growth of effective parental involvement that we now term 'marrngu teachers'.

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> It was the vernacular program that gave a status to something that was familiar and more readily understood.
>
> ... Time and experience are proving that it is the key. It is here that the visionaries in the community have been resoundingly proved right. The Jitamurras, Yougarlas, Minyjins, McLeods and others. They always had a clear concept of the vital link between survival, language and culture (Bucknall, 1980:1).

13.14 Theorizing to incorporate new elements from the white world

The group theorizes about how to take from the white world what it needs in order to survive, while preserving its autonomy.

This is facilitated by the coherence of the group, both spatially and ideologically. The Mob's theorizing is directed at a particular reality common to all, a reality upon which they believe they can act to bring about change. Much of the theorizing is concerned with new elements not allowed for in tradition. All of the theorizing concerned with the school, with the curriculum, (materials are vetted for offensive content) with the employment of white staff for the school and as station advisers, falls into this cateogory.

13.15 Theorizing about work

(i) Value of work for the group

Theorizing about the work ethic, a value foreign to the Aboriginal way of life in its European formulation, is subtly included in the theorizing about the symbolic universe. While those who are 'lazy' are noted, they are not rejected[1]. Nor will they be given responsibility. The 'good worker' is obviously esteemed, and the notion of effort put in for the good of the whole, a lesson painfully learned when the marrngu pulled out of stations, recurs as a theme for praise.

Monty Hale, a marrngu linguist recounts the story of the hard work that was necessary after the strikes to make a living.

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1 Taped interview.

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During the 1950s we collected Buffel grass seed. Lots of marrngu stayed in this area and they worked there. Day after day we went to work from early morning and we continued to work and eat our lunch out there before we returned to the camp at sunset. We continued to take full bags of Buffel grass seed.

> At another place, de Grey crossing, we stayed and worked collecting the seed in the same way. It was always this way, we worked day after day[1] (Mikurrunya 8.10.81:11)

Indirect approval of the hardship and suffering that won out in the end provides an example of rudimentary theorizing, as do all the value statements approved or written by the group for the newsletter.

(ii) Autonomy in work

The notion of autonomy is central to the work situation as it is to every other situation of Strelley.

The white advisers at Coongan and Warralong are "working under the direction of the Pastoral Management Committee" (Mikurrunya, 3.8.80:2).

Praise for hard, successful work also comes from this body. For the group, self-esteem comes from the praise and encouragement of the marrngu, not the white staff.

> The directors of Strelley Pastoral Company congratulate the various station teams on the work carried out this year (Mikurrunya, 8.10.81:2).

It was the Pastoral Company which negotiated with members of the Aboriginal Lands Fund Commission to obtain direct control of the Coongan/Warralong lease. They were able to point to all the accomplishments achieved through hard work as a basis of their claim.

13.16 Theorizing about alcoholism

Theorizing about alcoholism is bound up with the marrngu theorizing about intervention by squatters, government and missionaries and the destruction of marrngu culture by these groups.

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[1] Monty was about twelve at this time.

Through a logical extension, since culture, territory and autonomy are closely linked, it is theorized that the fight against alcoholism for those who have succumbed will be supported by a moving back to tribal territory.

Thus in a discussion with the D.A.A. officer about alcoholism in another group

> The men ... thought that the problem of drunks in Wiluna would continue while the people stayed in that place. Crow said they should listen to what this group is saying and shift back to their own country.
>
> The group camped at Sixty-one[1] is a good example of how a mob can take action to improve their lives and get away from alcohol and all its problems without waiting for the Government (Mikurrunya, 26.6.81:2).

Reference has already been made to the arrangements of the Strelley Mob for alcoholics from nearby Pt. Hedland to go out to the old Camel Camp on the Callawa lease.

13.17 Theorizing about identity

It can be said that all marrngu theorizing is directed towards the securing of an Aboriginal identity.

The marrngu also showed a readiness to theorize about Aboriginal identity in the non-tribal situation. A concern was shown by the Mob, when the plight of urban Aborigines was discussed[2].

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[1] The people at Sixty-one are the Jigalong Manyjiljarra speakers who had migrated to Strelley.

[2] A similar concern was shown by elders from Indulkana in the far north of South Australia, when visiting Adelaide as part of their teaching duties in ethnomusicology for the University of Adelaide. The men, observing the undisciplined behaviour of some of the small urban Aborigines, suggested they take them from their parents and bring them up properly in the north - an ironic echo of missionary policy.

In the original interviews conducted in the city with Aborigines who had been cited as people with a strong sense of identity, these people examining the diagram initially offered by the researcher, pointed to the anomic group, the group without roots and said immediately "They're dead". The men at Strelley and Warralong pointed to the same group with immediate understanding and said "They're broken people".

They were moved by the plight of these broken people. Immediately they felt responsibility for them and cast about in their minds as to how they could best help them.

Their theorizing was similar to that cited for the people from Wiluna[1]. The broken people should learn about their lost culture. To do this, they should be taken back to the lands of their ancestors and learn there about their culture, where it would be full of meaning, rather than in an urban situation.

13.18 Theorizing about the school

(i) Autonomy in the school

The people theorize about and reject the attitudes of government authorities who make unilateral decisions about education for Aboriginal people.

> The ministers for Education from Western Australia, Queensland and Northern Territory met with the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Senator Chaney.
>
> At the meeting the Ministers agreed that the Department of Aboriginal affairs should talk to the State and Church Education Departments before making a decision about Aboriginal education in remote areas.
>
> The main concern seemed to be the needs of the European teachers. There was apparently no mention of the need for direct discussion with the Aboriginal people involved (Mikurrunya, 12.4.79:4).

Within the Mob a clear, strong structure exists which stresses that the right to theorize about its own affairs belongs to the marrngu. At all times the notion that the marrngu are 'the boss' is emphasised.

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[1] See p. 217.

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At the meeting of Independent Aboriginal Schools:

> Jacob Oberdoo went for the Strelley School, Sambo Bina for Warralong, Ditch Williams for Camp 61 and Toby Jones for Lala Rookh School (Mikurrunya, 25.2.82:5).

Thus the appropriate representation is from the marrngu not the white teachers.

13.18

(ii) The curriculum

In the first days of the school, the concern was for the teaching of the vernacular, and literacy and numeracy in English. There has now been added to the curriculum the transmission of traditional skills - again a powerful source of theorizing which locates the people in the world of predecessors, as well as the contemporary world. Certain marrngu knowledge is now seen as appropriately passed on in the school situation.

> This year the marrngu teachers working with the older boys and girls are learning new ways of passing on their knowledge of important things that grow and happen in the country around us.
>
> The teachers decided that Jijimarra was a good time for a visit to Cattle Camp to learn about bush medicine. The older teachers told the younger teachers[1] and children the names of all the medicinal plants, what they are used for and how to use them.
>
> When they returned to school they prepared the medicines then worked with the younger teachers to write down information about them. Some other topics being used in the teacher training programme are: the collection of marlaja, planting seeds and animal activity (Mikurrunya, 29.5.81:15).

The smaller children are also involved in this development.

> The bridging group were taken to Shaw River where some of the old people showed them some traditional marrngu skills. They collected a fine grass seed which they ground and then made into a brown damper. They also showed children how to make a fire the old way without matches (Mikurrunya, 29.5.81:8).

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[1] That is, the older marrngu teachers instruct the younger marrngu teachers.

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The curriculum and the traditional teaching roles are made manifest in this incipient mode of theorizing.

13.18

(iii) Teacher education

The traditional teaching role in the Aboriginal world is well known. The problem is how to adapt this role to the evolving model of the 'world'. The people must theorize about this adaptation.

> The Aboriginal people have always been teachers and have for thousands of years taught their people how to live the Aboriginal way. Nowadays they are learning new things to pass on to their students (Mikurrunya,6.4.81:15).

The community is adamant that teacher training takes place within the community. Several of the men attended a meeting in Perth to discuss this problem.

> Jacob Oberdoo told the meeting that Aboriginals had always been teachers and would continue to teach the things necessary for the Aboriginal way of living. He also said that it was important for Aboriginal teachers to also learn how to teach reading and writing (Mikurrunya, 27.2.81:7).

At a meeting of the Nomads Charitable and Education Foundation, later in the year, discussions took place on this issue with a further underlining of its importance.

> The Foundation heard reports from Crow Yougarla representing the Strelley School Board, Ditch Williams representing Camp 61, Ginger Nganawila representing Kulkarriya and John Bucknall, the Foundation's Education Co-ordinator.
>
> Plans for 1982 school year were discussed and particular reference was made to the development of the Marrngu Teacher Education Programme and the further growth of the Vernacular Literacy Programme (Mikurrunya 8.10.81:2).

The programme was still the object of concern in 1982:

> They talked about the Marrngu Teacher Education Programme and how this is being set up in the community and not in Perth or some other place far from the people, their way of life and the Aboriginal Law (Mikurrunya,25.2.82:5).

For the marrngu, it is of the greatest importance that teacher education be contexted into the community and into traditional structures, and thus serve to integrate teachers and taught into the community.

While the theorizing on this issue is quite clear, the practical problems of implementing the decisions taken continue to be a source of concern.

13.18

(iv) The role of the school

The people theorize about the role of the school. The school was eagerly sought as the way to the skills needed for economic autonomy. Its presence has come to be seen as having other latent functions, for example, acting as a stabilizing force that continues in the wake of cyclones and other disruptive natural disasters, and providing a focal point for the activities of school-age children. The interaction of the group to incorporate such theorizing into daily practice is evident.

The theorizing of Strelley is reflected in the theorizing of Ginger, the Chairman of the Kulkurriya (Noonkanbah) School Board:

> Ginger, the chairman of the Kulkurriya School Board spoke about making the community stronger by doing things the marrngu way. He said the school must never become like a government school because it was not a school for the whitemen: the children must learn to respect the marrngu way, otherwise they would become weak (Mikurrunya, 29.10.79:3).

The theorizing of the marrngu concerning the worth of the school is supported by the theorizing of the white staff.

The principal at Strelley in 1980 was Paul Roberts. At the end of five years of operation of the school, he gave a glowing

account to the community of progress made by students both in community integration and the acquisition of skills. Roberts pointed out that there were no drop-outs from the system. (This particular problem of drop-outs was one of great concern to urban Aborigines).

> These young people are quiet, polite, undemanding of others. They do not have a chip on the shoulder, they do not think the world owes them a living, they are not into alcohol, petrol sniffing, drugs or prostitution.
>
> They have drive but they are not competitive. They may be shy or humble, but they are not lacking confidence or initiative. Truly they have a secure identity.
>
> At Strelley there are a number of children who have had less than five years schooling who are reading English at a grade 5 level or higher. They are achieving similar levels in mathematics. Some of them can also type, file, order, sew and cut out dresses, bank cheques. Some can grow vegetables, plant trees and make tables; others can write books and assist in their printing; others again can teach children (Mikurrunya, 3.10.80:6-7).

Such theorizing acts to support the theorizing of the marrngu. It also acts to support the identity of the white teachers in the role they have accepted.

It is clear that the need for indoctrination, stressed by Sorokin as an important role of members of the group providing for continuity, is recognised intuitively by the Strelley Mob. The communication of theorizing is facilitated by two established methods, the community publications and community meetings.

13.19 <u>Vehicles of indoctrination</u>

(i) The community newsletter (Mikurrunya) and community publications

Clearly, the newsletter is a means of propagating the theorizing of the people. It has sections in English, in Nyangumarta and in Manyjiljarra.

The newsletter has manifold functions, latent and manifest. It is used for literacy lessons. It provides for the restoration

of the role of story-teller. The use of three languages in the publication binds the group together. Decisions made, struggles won, plans carried out are all given great emphasis by being enshrined in a written form.

The literature centre also produces books of all sorts and at all levels of comprehension, their content springing from daily life.

It is noteworthy that story books of this sort are also a source of theorizing. One of the Manyjiljarra stories for example, Jamrarra, told "the story of what happens when a grandfather and a grandson do not go by the Law" (Mikurrunya, 27.2.81:10).

Theorizing is further articulated and communicated through community meetings.

13.19

(ii) Community meetings

The frequency of the meetings held by the group are not part of Aboriginal tradition. According to anthropologists the people met on rare occasions, for ceremonies and the settlement of disputes[1]. Thus these meetings are themselves a social construction, an adaptation of the processes of the Law to meet new situations.

It has been seen that the conscious construction of social reality by the Mob puts autonomy, encompassed in the rebuilding of the Law, as its highest priority. The setting up of an Independent School and of a School Board to control this, the setting up of a Pastoral Management Committee to plan pastoral work, demand frequent meetings of all, or part, of the group. Policy is formulated and reformulated at 'grass roots' level at these meetings.

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1 Tonkinson (1974:17), see p.200-201 above.

These meetings are a form of indoctrination with the consensus decision finally arrived at objectified as the 'theorizing' of the group. The development of structures (committees etc.) to meet these needs is itself the result of theorizing that is clearly articulated, a theorizing evolving after interaction with white structures at a theoretical level.

Indoctrination also takes place through the example of those held to be important men and women, members of the group noted for integrity and strength of mind and purpose who are in charge of those areas requiring adaptation to the western world, the schooling and the discipline associated with this, and work programmes.

On one occasion[1] the staff were invited to a community meeting at which a grievance against a member of staff was redressed. The total enactment was a powerful form of indoctrination of theorizing for the individual concerned[2], and for the other white staff[3]. It can also be seen as a mode of strengthening of theory for the people themselves.

The theorizing of the Mob is important in that it is accepted by the minority group - in this instance a group of dedicated, committed teachers and support workers. Their thinking and practice mirrors back the thinking of the Mob as it is perceived in western terms. Such a mirroring back is a confirming force, not only for the Mob, but for the building of the identity of the white group as participants in the identity building situation. They, too, interact with the theorizing of the Mob and modify their perception of the identity they have chosen for themselves.

The theorizing of non-Aboriginal staff forms an important part of overall theorizing.

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1 See p. 268.

2 Taped interview.

3 Taped interview.

13.20 Theorizing of non-Aboriginal staff about their role

Reference has been made to the fact that, in one sense white members of staff are not called upon to theorize. This is appropriately done by the marrngu. Nevertheless, theorizing is an essential process for the non-marrngu to maintain their own identity, with the subtle shifts and modifications that come about in self perception in a cross cultural situation.

One of the early emphases in the sociology of knowledge was the critical examination of the imposition of ideologies, of forms of 'oppression' in economic and political terms, particularly the imposition of the ideas of the dominant group.

Educational writings in the school of Gutierrez, Freire, Illich and others put forward theories of 'liberation', of freeing man from oppression, so that he may fully achieve self-realization as a human being. The literature and thinking in this area has many ramifications, too complex to be surveyed here. However, one related issue needs to be considered.

The white staff, in trying whole-heartedly not to be oppressive, not to impose their framework of thought on the marrngu, might well be attracted to adapting some version of a liberation model to give meaning to the situation. The acceptance of such a model, widely held in contemporary educational thought, means that the staff can project a theory with which they interact. As Berger has pointed out men both experience their world and explain their world. This applies to white staff as well as marrngu.

A problem for white staff lies in whether or not the complex framework of Aboriginal theory about their world of meaning is in fact translatable into western terms and western theory, such as liberation theory, in a way a person from another culture can

apprehend it, any more than the Dream time stories can be translated into English without losing some of their meaning and force[1].

There is no means of testing this out. However it is apparent that Aboriginal students, whether adult teacher trainees or 'school age' youth are confronted with two forces theorizing about the Aboriginal world with which the individual is constantly interacting in the establishment of his identity.

Tonkinson's account (1974:99) of Jigalong makes it clear that, in that location, the theorizing of the two groups - white missionaries and Aborigines - was almost diametrically opposite on all issues.

Observation and interviews at Strelley lead to the conclusion that the prime aim of all the white staff is to seek to understand the policy and the decisions of the Aboriginal community and to carry these out.

The problem lies in the degree to which it is possible for individuals to perform Schutz's épochè[2] - to be able to stand aside from a situation outside one's own realm of meaning and examine it, rather than transmute the Aboriginal meaning by filtering it through one's own ethno-centrism, even though this is based in an ideology of liberation.

13.2 Theorizing as a dynamic force

The theorizing of Strelley is one expecting continuity, one that expects success and the survival of the group.

This psychological model in itself helps to bring about the well-known situation of the self-fulfilling prophecy, the prophecy that realises itself in practice. The process of theorizing is well adapted to its realisation. In order to maintain the cohesion of the group, theorizing about its 'world view', and the prescription

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[1]This point was brought out strongly by a linguist at Strelley during a taped interview.

[2]Such an examination would demand for them the practice of Husserl's épochè (Schutz 1973:122, 123), a standing outside one's 'given' world, a suspending of belief temporarily to direct one's view exclusively to one's own consciousness of the world.

of behaviour which conforms to this over-arching ideology, is achieved through a series of meetings at different levels in the hierarchy, with which all interact at some point. The norms of the group are thus better known, and more clearly defined than in the amorphous world of mainstream society. The latter is a pluralist society which not only has different norms operating from one group to another, but different norms applying in different situations within any one group.

The theory with which the individual at Strelley interacts is dynamic, not static. The giving of meaning to the 'world' of Strelley is part of a continuing dialectic.

This points to the possibility of continuity for the Strelley Mob since, in Sorokin's terms, the group possesses within itself the tools to develop their own theorizing in the face of changes in government policy or other outside intervention. The Law has already undergone adaptations to meet new situations. It is not reified, ossified, a dead hand preventing adaptation. The basic means for securing a sense of identity, together with feelings of self-esteem, would seem to be established.

There is a political theorizing that builds into the Aboriginal sense of identity. Taken in the narrow sense of political parties, the Aborigines support no party. Rather, they examine the platform of each party for its philosophy on matters in the interest of Aborigines, particularly their policy towards self-determination for Aborigines and their platform regarding land rights and mining on Aboriginal lands policies, which are crucial to the preservation of sacred sites. In the wide sense of politics, the Mob jealously retain the right to speak for themselves. They resent the appointment of part-Europeans to speak on behalf of the tribal people. They see Aboriginal bodies set up by the government (including the 'Bush meetings') as government agencies not reflecting the decisions and thinking of the marrngu. The autonomy of the group is firmly established in its theorizing.

In summary, the theorizing of the group, the way in which they 'explain' their reality, is coherent and unifying, and possesses within itself the forces for perpetuating its model of the 'world'.

The question remains whether or not the model proposed[1] is appropriate? Can Strelley be said to present a model contiguous to white society.

In order to explore this area at greater depth, the theoretical issues of Area II will now be examined, in so far as they have reference to Strelley.

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1 See p. 71a.

CHAPTER XIV

INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THE WORLD OF MEANING - STRELLEY

14.1 Introduction

It was proposed to organize the study of the social construction of reality and the location of identity into three areas.

Area I examined the models of worlds of meaning, "society's general knowledge about the world raised to the level of theoretical thought".

In this chapter it is proposed to examine Model I, Strelley, within the parameters delineated for Area II, namely the interaction between typifications as social structures, and worlds of meaning.

Berger and Luckmann point out that "the reality of everyday life contains typificatory schemes in terms of which others are apprehended and 'dealt with' " (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:45).

> The social reality of everyday life is thus apprehended in a continuum of typifications which are progressively anonymous, as they are removed from the 'here and now' of the face-to-face situation .... Social structure is the sum total of these typifications and of the recurrent patterns of interaction established by means of them (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:48).

The issue now to be addressed is that of establishing the typifications constructed by the Strelley Mob, and the ways in which members interact with these typifications to construct a social world.

The 'world' of Strelley will be examined to ascertain whether the social structure results from interaction within this world, (and thus the conceptualisation of Strelley as an Aboriginal world contiguous to white society is supported), or whether the 'world'

of Strelley will be seen to be a variant of the white world. If the latter is the case then it is expected to find action taking place upon the Strelley world from within mainstream society which in that case would impose from without the typifications of the white world.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:47-48) point out that typifications of others are formed along a continuum ranging from predecessors to those immediately experienced (consociates) to those of whom one has 'knowledge' but not acquaintanceship (contemporaries).

Tribal society is a society that looks back to predecessors for an explanation of the beginning of man and his place in the physical and symbolical world. The typification of consociates was based on the Law given to men in the Dreamtimes, the time of predecessors. Typification of contemporaries, according to Kolig (1977), took the form of nihilation - all 'others' not speaking the language were not fully human.

Berndt and Berndt make the same point. Aboriginal tribes are relatively self-contained with their own social organization and structure. Theoretically they nihilate others by negative typifications.

> Contact with others may be spasmodic, or confined to trading or ceremonies. Also, its members are often intolerant of the views and behaviour of outsiders. They may say, for instance, that the people of another tribe not far away are cannibals, or indulge in queer practices: that the women have unnatural relations with dogs, or that all their men are powerful sorcerers. Quite often there seems to be a strong underlying concern with being independent of others (Berndt and Berndt, 1981:36).

Strelley, while reflecting the traditional concern of being independent, nevertheless must interact with other worlds of meaning in order to construct its typifications. Figure 4 shows these 'worlds' in diagrammatic form.

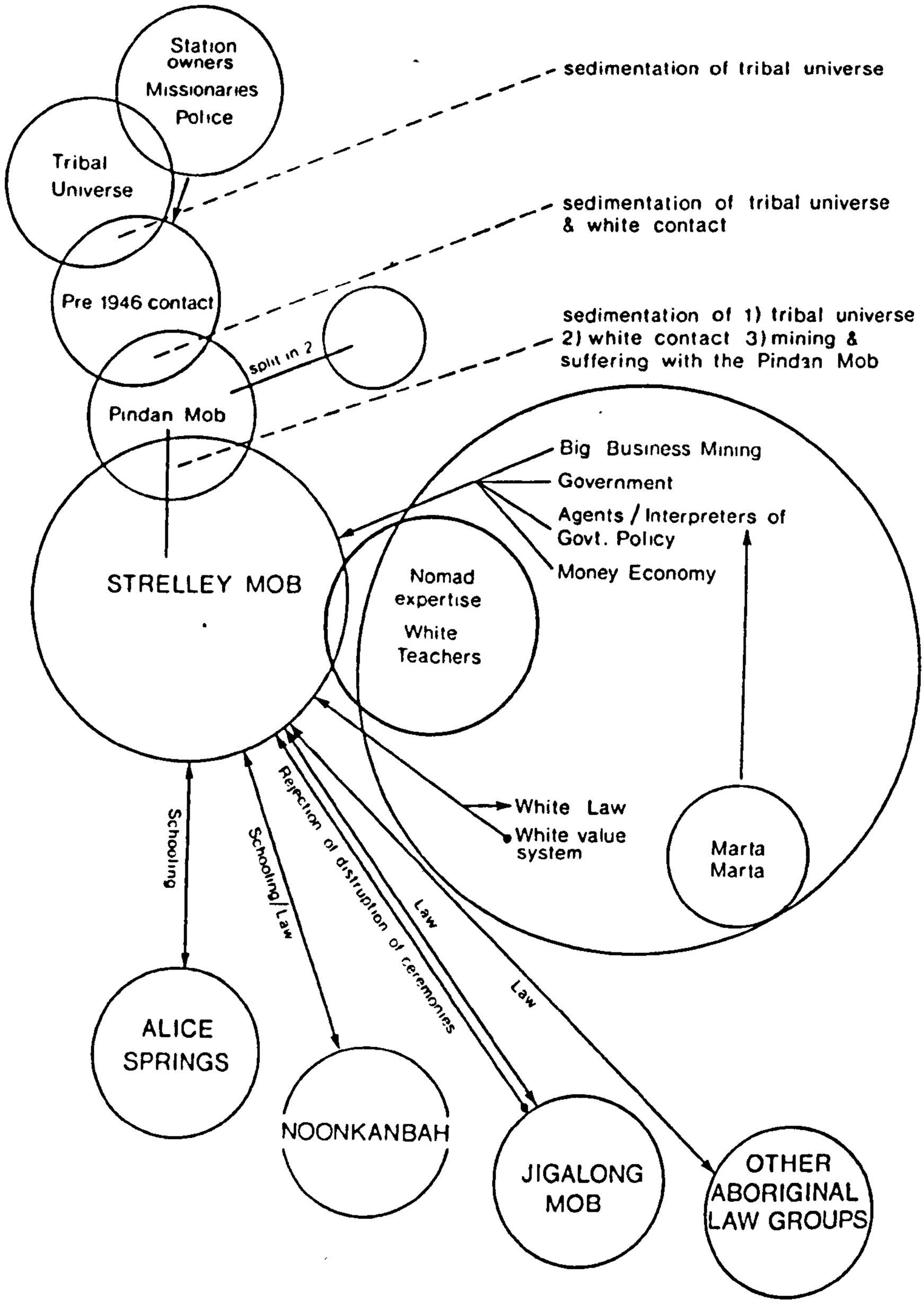

FIG. 5 'WORLDS' WITH WHICH THE STRELLEY MOB INTERACTS

14.2 Worlds of meaning with which Strelley interacts

Figure 4 shows the complexity of interaction in the construction of the 'world' of Strelley and the numerous groups with which the Mob interacts.

There are the worlds of predecessors - tribal forefathers. The world of predecessors also contains the worlds of station owners with their particular morality and attitudes to Aborigines.. It contains the 'world of missionaries'.

It further contains the police (often also the so-called 'protectors').

From all these 'worlds' the Strelley Mob has inherited sedimented meanings that are opaque and difficult for them to examine[1], since they are part of a 'world' that is 'given', the world tout court as Berger puts it.

The mining exploits of the group produced a further history - a history of suffering and survival. The 'traditionalism' of Strelley, and the typifications formulated must be seen as filtered through these worlds of meaning and worlds of experience.

In contemporary times, the Mob interacts within itself, with other Aboriginal groups, consociates and contemporaries, and with white 'worlds'. In the latter case, there are both the world it absorbs within its own structures, in the case of the teachers it employs, and the world to which it sees itself contiguous, whose

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[1] See p. 226, footnote 2.

value-system it rejects.

The typifications constructed by the Mob and the recurrent patterns of interaction will now be examined.

14.3 Conservation of traditional structures

In a certain sense it may be said that the strengthening of the Law, and the giving of roles within the structure of the Law, is itself the result of interaction between typifications and a world of meaning. In this case the 'world' is the 'world' of predecessors. The Mob interacts with the sedimentation of beliefs that have been handed down. However, resulting typifications cannot be said to be 'tribal'; rather they must be designated as tradition-oriented, since the sedimentation of meaning inherent in them includes elements of white contact. Nevertheless, the typifications structured clearly act to conserve traditional typifications.

In the case of Strelley there is still evidence of the typifications of the traditional world. The people live in various camps in kinship groups. Typifications exist through the classificatory system which decides with whom one may associate, whom one may marry, to whom one has obligations. Avoidance relations which strengthen such typifications are observed, and indeed since the permanent white staff are also given a position in the classificatory system, they too are typified within the kinship system. They are required to internalize these typifications, and to observe the correct protocol for interaction. Typifications are thus institutionalized as a basis for behaviour.

Berndt and Berndt (1981:210) describe how authority is vested in the hands of the elders. This pattern is quite clearly reproduced in the giving of authority in the world being structured at Strelley. Elders, important men, spend wearisome hours visiting Roebourne where there is great degradation of Aborigines as a result of alcohol. Others again spend long hours coping with the activities of juvenile delinquents, some from the community, others interlopers. Current

roles may be seen as modifications of those existing in the tribal world, adaptations organized to meet the needs of this world in which the people live today.

Traditional Aboriginal society (as indeed any religious society) provided for the institutionalization of typifications through prescribed means, in particular through an educative process which was marked at stages by ceremonies of initiation.

The Strelley Mob gives an account of the revival and strengthening of those ceremonies (Mikurrunya, 29.10.79), popularly known as 'business'.

All these typifications canalize behaviour. In the case of the marrngu, appropriate behaviour is prescribed and an appropriate location of the self within this world is secured.

Similarly, clues for interaction are given to the white staff - the typifications, together with the theorizing to which all are party, provide blue-prints for behaviour that differs fundamentally from that in mainstream society.

The 'world' of Strelley is seen to be a world independent of white society, its typifications based in a different world of meaning.

However, not all typifications set out to conserve structures in their traditional form. Clearly, there have been adaptations of traditional social structures.

14.4 Adaptation of traditional structures

The Jigalong Mob, researched by Tonkinson, frowned severely on those who made adaptations to the Law[1]. Nevertheless some adaptations

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[1]"The ethnocentrism of the Jigalong Aborigines is directed not only at whites but also at Aborigines in other areas whom they see disregarding the Law. Members of the Jigalong mob firmly believe that theirs is the only community of Aborigines which is still 'holding onto the Law properly' and resisting attempts to modify or weaken it. The Jigalong elders reacted quite negatively to their northern neighbours who attempted to institute a 'new Law'" (Tonkinson, 1974:145-6).

were necessary for survival in the mode adopted by Strelley - namely contiguity with mainstream society - if they were to maintain the coherence of their 'world'.

Examples of adaptations made by the Strelley Mob, of which knowledge is available to an outsider, are the practices of killing as a punishment. Deaths of Aboriginal people in the hard times after the strikes and later through such causes as fighting after too much alcohol became a source of great anxiety. Death as a tribal punishment could no longer be countenanced. For 'tribal' crimes, other punishments had to be devised, quite apart from the white man's law, and over and above punishment that might be meted out by white courts[1].

The practice of not inhabiting a dwelling after someone had died has been modified to leaving the place empty for a short period. Western-style habitation cannot be abandoned as easily as traditional shelters.

The permanent living together in groups larger than the traditional kinship/language grouping[2] represents an adaptation to a situation produced when the people were dispossessed of their land.

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[1]Some courts interact to accept and maintain the 'tribal' model of Aboriginal groups. On occasion they do this with a lack of understanding and expect the community to punish its members for all crimes. Crimes that the Mob see as white man's crimes, should, the Mob believes, be punished by white man's law. There are no prescriptions of the Law governing alcohol and its effects, for example the senseless brawls that, in 1980, led to deaths on a number of occasions at Jigalong. The Strelley people believed that deaths resulting in this way should have received the same treatment in white law as white people would receive. Tribal punishments should be reserved for crimes specific to matters contained within the Law.

[2]See Berndt and Berndt (1981:25-106) for a full description of tribal social organization. See also p.254 below.

The Strelley Mob, as a group, is a social construct formed from diverse groups. It is not a grouping based on traditional kin/ language criteria.

Nevertheless, it is not a mere spatial agglomeration. Preceding chapters have shown the causal-meaningful bonds which have been established.

Social structures developed by the Mob during the strikes have resulted in corresponding changes in typifications. Those who were 'other' in the old dispensation, contemporaries, now became consociates.

As consociates they became eligible for 'therapy', for a conceptualisation that brings all tradition-oriented people within an encompassing 'world'.

The Strelley Mob are deeply concerned about alcoholics from Roebourne, a town about 200 miles from Strelley. 'Missionaries' from Strelley visit the town and try to lift the people there from their degradation, recalling them to their 'strong' Law (i.e. the Roebourne Law).

There are those who are 'missionaries' of the Law; like the prophets, they travel around recalling the different groups to the practice of the Law. Such typifications and roles clearly represent adaptations of traditional typifications to meet new social circumstances.

Some typifications, however, represent accretions rather than adaptations.

In a world where typifications concerning marriage are still institutionalized in a traditional way, young women seek to establish additional typifications through participation in non-traditional activities, for example in coming together to do typing courses. In this situation they are not subject to older wives. Interaction between the typification of 'junior wife' and the world of Strelley

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

permits an additional role - junior wife and typist. In such a new departure, status and prestige are found outside the 'traditional' typifications but firmly within the evolving typifications. In the conservation and adaptation of typifications, clearly, to use a favourite Strelley phrase, the marrngu are the boss. The white world, as a source of control, is peripheral.

However, there are other situations requiring the forging of new structures and new typifications not provided for at all in a 'world' where the Law structured society. Strelley sees itself in this instance, not as being acted upon by the white world or even interacting with the white world, but as taking from the white world those elements it needs.

14.5 Construction of new typifications and roles - a taking from the white world

The Strelley Mob maintains that their world is contiguous to white society - that they take from white society those structures they need.

New social structures have been developed, such as committees and councils to run the total enterprise, the school and the pastoral programme. Clearly, there has been a 'taking' from white society, with corresponding examples of new typifications and institutionalization of such typifications.

Roles attached to membership of committees are clearly demarcated; typifications are institutionalized and given form in the establishment of correct protocol to be observed.

New typifications may be observed in the interaction of the marrngu with certain white people who are brought within the Strelley world and typified as consociates. Teachers are typified and given roles of communicating white man's knowledge. Their role is precise. It does not include 'education', which is the role of the community.

Disciplinary problems are to be solved by the community; they are not the responsibility of the teachers. The typification of teaching roles is based on prior decisions as to the content of the curriculum. Value-laden subjects, such as social studies in its accepted forms, have no place in the Strelley curriculum. The Mob has its own 'social studies' programme underpinning all its activities.

As time elapses, certain teachers are assigned roles over and above their teaching role. Through a subtle process, certain members are cast in a special way as a consociate/consultor for a language group[1], contributing to the stability of the structure. The same members of the white group are from time to time appointed to 'act upon' white society on behalf of the group, to convey to appropriate white agencies decisions taken by the group.

The establishment of new typifications is seen perhaps even more clearly in the school situation. Strelley school has come to be a prototype of an Aboriginal community controlled school. Relationships have been established with Noonkanbah (with which there is a radio connection) and reciprocal visits to the school take place. Turkey Creek community, in a discussion with the local priest, despite immense pressure from the latter for a school the priest would control, opted for a 'community school like Strelley'. Some of the people of Alice Springs have withdrawn their children from the local school and started a 'school like Strelley'.

Schooling is a white institution, a structure 'taken' from white society.

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[1] The Nyangumarta group were tending to use one teacher as a consultor; the Manyjiljarra group tended to consult another. Neither of these teachers were linguists. Their selection was not based on their ability to communicate in the vernacular. They had obviously been assigned a special role because of trust placed in them.

However, 'Strelley' schooling differs in essential ways from the schooling of the white world. Firstly, it is an area where autonomy is exercised by the group. "The marrngu are the boss". The school structures are subsumed within the total structures of the Mob. Secondly, the content of white schooling is restructured. A new version of schooling is propagated that seeks to appropriate what is seen as non-value-laden (numeracy) and to 'de-value' literacy so that it becomes a skill rather than a mode of transmitting values.

New roles are established to accommodate the new 'world' of schooling. White teachers are employed to teach the literacy and numeracy elements, new to tribal people, and to publish a literature in the vernacular. Marrngu are being trained as teachers for both 'white' schooling and the vernacular. At the same time 'traditional' roles of educators are maintained by the marrngu who are totally responsible for primary socialization.

The basis upon which the marrngu appoint teachers from their own ranks in the schooling situation are imperfectly understood by white teachers; indeed, it is possible that this is an area still imperfectly resolved by the marrngu.

In Aboriginal society, as in white society, knowledge is socially distributed.

Elkin (1954:267-94) writes of Aboriginal men of high degree - that is, possessing knowledge not given to others. Knowledge is also differentially distributed between men and women. Certain knowledge is the province of men; women place themselves in danger by observing certain secret/sacred rituals. On the other hand, women in many regions had their own ritual (Berndt and Berndt, 1981:296). Song cycles belong to an individual. There are some who possess magical knowledge.

For as long as this social distribution of knowledge remains, even in vestigial form, a problem must arise when white knowledge

is to be incorporated into the symbolic universe. The Law says nothing of this. In particular, it says nothing about which areas of knowledge are to be admitted into the developing social structures, and who is to be the keeper of this knowledge.

> Bucknall comments:
>
> The Mob had a clear idea about reading and writing but when it came to what is needed for running the station and to whom these secrets should be revealed things became very complicated. These complications are not easily understood by ourselves or the community because they are inextricably bound up in the social structure of the group (Bucknall, 1980).

The construction of a 'world' which takes items from white society, requires new areas of knowledge to be socially distributed. The typifications and establishment of roles, inherent in the process of the social distribution of knowledge, call for adaptation or even reform of traditional typifications.

What is evident is that there is an interaction taking place between social structures and the newly evolving 'world'. In the case of the appointment of marrngu teachers, it is unclear to white people why particular individuals are appointed as teachers, that is, what is the basis for the 'theoretical' legitimation of such appointments.

In one case, there was clearly extraordinary linguistic ability that was recognised, and marked off an individual as a teacher. In other cases, it seems more likely that what was recognised was social pre-eminence - the 'teacher' was a model of Aboriginal behaviour and as such an educator in the widest sense.

The lack of ability of the white staff to understand what is happening points clearly to the fact that the marrngu are controlling this situation. They do not need to consult people from a different 'world' who would have a different basis for decision-making.

As the programmes in literacy develop, success in these programmes may possibly become the basis of teacher appointment. This is not at all clear at this time. Such an interpretation is, of course, based in a western framework of thought which may not be relevant at all to the marrngu.

However, should this take place, it would show an adaptation reflecting interaction with a white definition of the role of teacher.

This is not the case at present. Typifications and roles are constructs of the marrngu world. However, there are other areas where the social structure of the Mob remains problematic.

Action upon the white world has resulted in some typifications which are capable of being integrated into the Law and thus of being safeguarded by the Law. They are absorbed in the process of conservation.

Other elements, borrowed from the white world, are not accounted for within the Law. There are no sanctions, no prescriptions governing behaviour with respect to these items. Such elements must be somehow legitimated within the overall systematization of meaning.

One such element all Aborigines are aware of - the use of alcohol and its (now) foreseen consequences. This element of the white world is totally rejected.

Other elements however may be actively absorbed without the people being aware of the possibility of unforeseen consequences.

In practice, as has been pointed out[1], the notion of possessions is embedded in the Law in terms of the sacredness of the land and its religious implications.

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[1] See p.196.

The uneasy welding of a money economy into the culture adds a new, different dimension to the notion of possessions, and presents potential dangers to the group.

Virtue in the Aboriginal world encompasses rights, embedded in relationships, which enable individuals to exact contributions within a clearly defined framework. The rights of a father to make certain demands on the husbands of his daughters, for example, is enshrined in the Law. The possibility of making the demands, and the reciprocal obligations entailed, are clearly regulated. Under a money economy, such demands can be exacted in cash, and the money used for the purchase of material objects. One such object is a car.

It is possible that motor vehicles purchased with this money may come to be prized as a 'possession', an 'idential'. Prestige could thus come through ownership of vehicles. This is a matter for speculation at this time.

What is observable is that social relationships are disordered when pressures are placed upon individuals who administer vehicles belonging to the total group for station work, to make these vehicles available for private use.

Young people who are unable to purchase cars resort to the illegal use of cars, succumbing to the same attractions that cars exert in white society.

In a sense, all such items of western culture present a problem in that the Law, which encompasses all the typifications of daily life, is silent about such things.

Some items are easily accommodated - schooling, for example, may be seen as one element of the total, traditional educational process.

The item in question here, namely the use of a money economy, must be legitimated by analogy. The men theorize that the way money is shared is a reflection of how the spoils of hunting were shared, and that ownership of a car does not carry with it the sole right to the use of the car.

The kinship obligations that arose from distribution of the spoils of hunting meant that the man who received the kangaroo, for example, as a right, also had obligations in its distribution. There were prescribed ways of sharing out each particular portion to those who rightfully could expect this. Likewise, the possession of a car brings with it obligations.

While these new typifications are legitimated by analogy, there is, nevertheless, possibility that they contain within themselves seeds of disorder which may present problems in the future.

In addition to the areas where Strelley 'takes' from the white world, there are areas in which the white world impinges on Strelley. White people visit white people; there is a constant stream of people from government agencies. Typifications have been evolved to accommodate these intrusions.

14.6 Accommodation of the white world

The kinspeople of the white group are warmly received by the community. Typifications existing within the Mob are extended to accommodate this group. In the Strelley world, it is entirely appropriate that people visit their kin.

In the case of other white visitors[1], 'white fellas', time is allowed to elapse before they are typified and judged worthy or unworthy

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[1]Permission to visit Strelley must be obtained from the community.

of interaction[1].

White people in general are contemporaries, not consociates; their value-system is seen as alien. Particular groups are typified as 'Christians' or 'Government people', the latter untrustworthy 'promisers' of benefits which do not eventuate[2].

Visitors who are of Aboriginal descent, who do not live within the Law, are seen as following European ways, and for that reason are typified as part-European in culture, and in allegiance. They are marta marta.

These new typifications, institutionalized to provide a basis for behaviour, have been constructed, by the marrngu, to accommodate an alien world. They do not represent reciprocal interaction or a dialectical process. The typifications are elements of the social structure designed to protect the social structures and maintain the autonomy of the marrngu.

14.7 Summary

The question is again asked whether the world of Strelley is a 'world-within-a-world', a sub-universe of meaning located within

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[1]Tonkinson gives the following account of typifications of white people by the Jigalong Mob. "Initial contact with frontier white men led the Aborigines to perceive these later arrivals [fundamentalist missionaries] as an aberrant group whom they eventually labelled 'Christian', a category quite distinct from 'white-fella'. They stereotyped Christians as, among other things, anti-Aboriginal, anti-Law, tight-fisted, joyless and unwilling to be friends with them; whereas 'white-fellas' were judged individually, as good or bad or a bit of both, depending on the nature of their treatment of Aborigines (Tonkinson, 1977:65).

[2]In requesting permission to visit Strelley, and later to interview the important men, stress was laid on the fact that no promises were being made, and the research was being carried out to take insights from Strelley to the urban situation. This was totally acceptable to the important men.

a larger universe of meaning that subsumes it, or whether it is indeed an alternative 'world' located outside the white universe of meaning - contiguous to it, as the Mob maintain (Figure 3).

The intention of the Mob is to repel the intrusions of white culture. At the same time it is the intention of the Mob to accept and integrate elements of white culture, for example, white teachers and white expertise, for as long as these are necessary, and a money economy. Diagramatically, this may be illustrated in the following way:

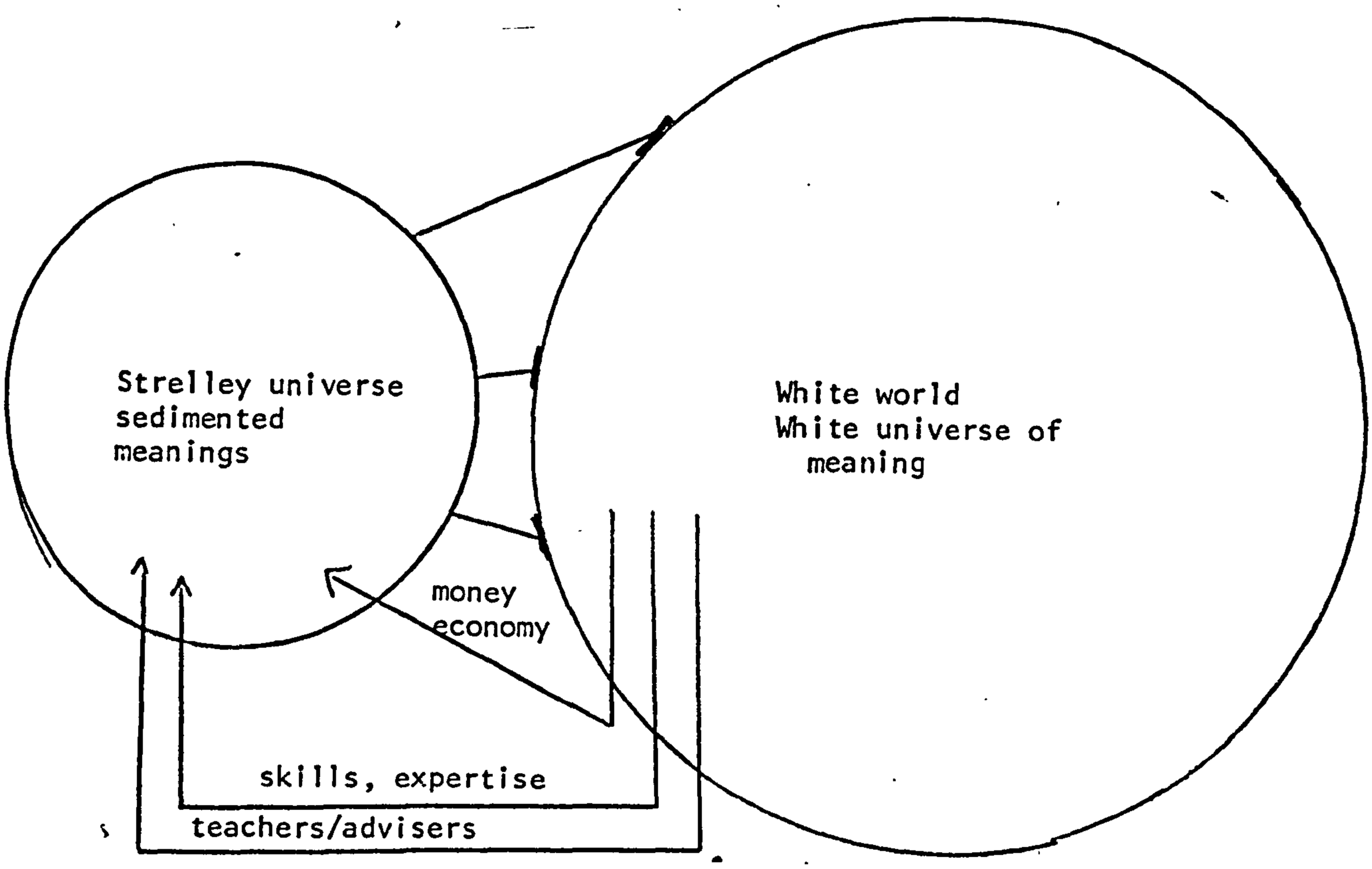

Figure 5

Interaction of Strelley with components of the white 'world'

From the discussion above, it can be asserted that, whereas in pre-1946 contact the white world acted *upon* the Mob, and largely removed their autonomy, the post-strike era has seen a return to a social structure where autonomy resides within the group. The group which has been socially constructed, is not a mere agglomeration but has succeeded in establishing causal-meaningful bonds within the Law.

To summarize: contact with the white world and contact with other Aboriginal groups has been shown to result in the conservation of elements from the tribal world, through a process of adaptation and absorption both of traditional elements and elements from the white world. Elements from both worlds have been fused into a coherent universe of meaning.

The following effects of contact may be discerned:

> During pre-strike contact, the Mob modified its tribal universe of meaning in response to action upon the tribe by the sub-culture of cattle stations in the north west of Western Australia. Its world became tradition-oriented, rather than tribal.
>
> After settling at Strelley, the Mob has 'taken' some 'white' values (e.g. the importance of schooling) and incorporated these into the social structures.
>
> It has 'taken' white institutions (e.g. money economy) and incorporated them by analogy within traditional structures.
>
> The Mob has elaborated typifications of white culture as destructive of the group and the individual.
>
> It has elaborated typifications of Government as promising much but not fulfilling promises and wishing to destroy the group.
>
> It has elaborated typifications of missionaries as wishing to destroy the Law and traditional authority.

In the case of other Aboriginal groups:

> The Mob has elaborated typifications of contemporaries who are invited, persuaded, to become consociates. These other groups are invited to restructure their own Law, and regain autonomy, particularly in the schooling area.

In the case of part-Europeans:

> The Mob has elaborated a typification of these people as uninitiated, sharing none of the culture and the secret/sacred elements of the Law that give meaning to life; they are marta marta, oriented towards a white life-style.

In tandem with the construction of typifications there is an evolution of roles.

Modified roles may be observed, related to elements in the contemporary 'world', which bear a resemblance to the traditional 'world'. There are important men who are responsible for white man's law and schooling, men who are responsible for relating to government agencies; there are important men and women responsible for education and re-education back into the group.

Roles may be seen evolving in an interaction between the Strelley Mob and neighbouring Aboriginal worlds - roles directed at restoring the 'Business', but also roles of a 'missionary' nature aimed at restoring the Law itself. Those who were once 'contemporaries' (i.e. other tribal groups, distanced from the Mob) have become 'consociates'.

Roles from an alien world are incorporated within the group by the appointment of white teachers and advisers. They also become consociates.

Clearly, the construction of typifications and roles results from interaction between the Mob and the worlds of predecessors, the Mob and other Aboriginal worlds, and action by the Mob upon the white world. The institutionalization of typifications has led to the evolution of roles that are recognizable as variants of Aboriginal social structures.

Thus there are observable effects of the various interactions enumerated above:

Traditional culture has been conserved (not preserved) with adjustments made that are appropriate to contemporary needs.

Certain elements, necessary for the survival of the Mob, have been 'taken' from the white world and legitimated by analogy (money economy, clothes, technology).

Certain elements of the white world (e.g. teachers) have been incorporated into the theoretical model of Strelley, where these are seen to benefit the Mob.

The interaction between social structures and the world of meaning is regulated to protect the world of the Mob from the intervention of alien culture.

It is concluded that both Figure 3 and Figure 4 are valid representations of the Strelley 'world', albeit with certain dangers inherent in the 'taking' of a money economy.

Further confirmation of the reality of the Strelley model can be tested by examining whether or not there is evidence of behaviour which is in accord with the theorizing, whether or not individuals find their psychological reality in this psychological model. This area will now be examined in Chapter XV.

CHAPTER XV

MODEL 1 - STRELLEY (cont.)
INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SELF AND SOCIETY, BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY (AREA III)

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY OF THE SELF AT STRELLEY

15.1. Introduction

The social structures of Strelley have been mapped[1].

The psychological reality of the individual found in these social structures will now be examined, that is,

> the manner in which the individual apprehends himself, his processes of consciousness and his relations with others (Berger, 1971:95).

Berger points out that

> The self exists by virtue of society, but society is only possible as many selves contrive to apprehend themselves and each other with reference to it (Berger, 1971:96).

Society offers a 'repertoire of identities' from which choices are made and the self located in the social structure. The individual recognises his identity in socially defined terms and in doing this confirms the social structure. The question now to be explored is that of the identities open to members of the Strelley community and their acceptance of these identities.

15.2 Location of the self in the group (i.e. the Mob)

Membership within a tradition-oriented Aboriginal group was historically, and still is, through inheritance, that is by birth into a kinship grouping. Membership of kinship groups within the Mob is still by inheritance. However, membership of the larger, socially constructed group, the Mob itself, is through voluntary acceptance.

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[1] See Chapter XIV.

As a new generation grows to adulthood, allegiance to the larger grouping, the Strelley Mob, will continue to rest on a fusion of inheritance and voluntary acceptance. Since the individual's parents were members of the 'founding fathers', membership of the total group is inherited.

However, the choice for the individual to hive off from the Mob will continue to be a possibility, as it was for the group itself which split in two in the fifties[1]. The choice to opt out of kinship groupings is not possible. This is one of the 'plurels' which Sorokin points out are not socially constructed and therefore cannot be changed.

The choice to distance oneself spatially from kin, however remains as a possibility. Individuals may, and do move out.

However, apart from the masculine/feminine identity and its 'known' characteristics, it may appear that, in this society, except in a limited sense, there is no choice of identity. The Law is prescriptive. If individuals remain spatially within Strelley, identity is ascribed.

15.3 Choice of identity/achieved identity

While choice is limited by the psychological model of the Mob and consequently the psychological reality to be found within that model, there are choices of particular roles to be made within that framework.

At Strelley, significant others watch the young person closely for signs of developing characteristics which point towards a choice of role, and which influence the decisions made by adults. Mention has been made of the selection of people to be teachers. The same process applies to other 'identities' which are associated with particular roles - health workers, station hands, horse-breakers,

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[1]See p. 230a.

typists, those working in the publication centre, and, above all, those responsible for leadership.

Young people are led to a choice from these identities offered, and interact with the typification of such an identity. They are supported and encouraged in this by the approval of the significant others in their world.

Since the young people are integrated into the total group, choices are not made simply within the confines of a nuclear family. Identity, and roles, are located within the total social structure, and in view of the good of the whole. Choices are made within this framework and are supported by the whole group.

At every step leading to identity formation, there is no situation structured for failure.

In the traditional world uncles look after young boys, and in a one to one situation guide and support them through the stages of initiation.

Education, both in its broadest sense and in the new, narrower sense of schooling, is structured in a manner that leads to success, not failure. Young people are watched, their potential, their leanings assessed, their strengths encouraged. They are not, in any area of their lives, in competition with others that downgrades their own worth. The notion of grades and grading is irrelevant. Schooling, taken from white society, has been fused into this world view. Schooling is not divided into 'stages' as in the model of the white world. For example, the notion of education as being 'secondary', and of everyone being entitled to a secondary education, is irrelevant. It is the development of the individual personality that is important through whatever processes of education deemed to be relevant. Thus, sheepbreeding programmes in the white model would be characterised as 'secondary education'. In the Aboriginal world however, in the stucturing of formal education, such categorisation is meaningless. Schooling is directed towards an end, rather than being an end in itself; the gaining of a qualification, as such, is not important.

The individual is seen as always 'becoming'; the achievement of personal identity is an ongoing process. Whatever the original choice of identity, a crowning identity of 'important' man/woman may be arrived at by a process of recognition by others of outstanding qualities.

The prestige of the 'important men' clearly comes through their being chosen out, their qualities of leadership recognized. Thus, some prestigious identities are bestowed by the group.

The continuity of leadership in the group is secured by the selecting out of young men who have proved worthy of trust. They are 'indoctrinated' through an educative process, a learning from the example and deliberations of the important men in whose company they are almost always to be found, and through a reflecting back of the community's expectations. Thus, there is an education towards identity - the identity of the mature person of the group, the identity of leadership.

In Berger's words, everyone "knows" as a "matter of course"(Berger 1971:96) that there are particular men and women chosen out for responsibility. This identity is internalized over a long period.

There is a subtle mixing of achieved and bestowed identity through a dialectic taking place between the two, both these aspects of identity resting on ascribed identity.

15.4 Adopted identity

It has been pointed out[1] that those not having an identity ascribed by inheritance may also be incorporated into the group. Examples are white men such as McLeod, or children who have kin in the group but who have spent their early years in a European lifestyle. For them, this identity is an adopted one. Once adopted, the same processes of locating individuals within the community apply as to those for whom identity is inherited.

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[1] See p. 171.

15.5 White staff and location within the group

The white staff have kinship relations bestowed upon them. This does not carry with it full membership in the group. For some who have had a long, stable, trusted association with the group, a special identity of 'consultor'[1] is bestowed. The acceptance of such 'bestowals', and interaction with them, means that the staff have modified their perception of their own identity, their location in a 'world' of meaning. For these people, there are special roles and obligations which they come to perceive over a long period. There is thus, for some white teachers, the possibility of a dual identity, of location of the self at different times in different worlds of meaning (e.g. the Strelley Community, and 'mother-in-law's world of meaning' during vacation).

For other white teachers, their role is clearly demarcated as 'white teacher, teaching literacy and numeracy'. Their identity is, as it were, that of white teacher temporarily at Strelley. However, in both cases, the response is the response expected by the Mob, and confirms their 'world' of meaning.

Identity, location in the social structure, is secured by clearly perceived identials.

De Levita (1965:169) enumerates physical identity, life history, language, naming and possessions as important identials.

15.6 Identials

15.61 Physical identity

The physical idential of the body clearly shows forth a belongingness. At Strelley it is white children who stand out as different because of their skin colour. At Strelley, and with any tradition-oriented community, black is not 'beautiful', nor is it a source of shame. It is a given.

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[1] See p. 237.

15.62 Life history

Life history for the Strelley Mob is a clearly recognised idential. It is secured in tradition, based in the total Aboriginal culture with its Dreamtime explanations of the 'world', its explanation of reality. Added to this location in tradition, there is the immensely proud idential of being part of the life-history of the Mob, which dreamed a dream of survival that became a reality. Being one of the original Mob has already been likened to taking part in the long journey to the Promised Land, a feat that is in itself an idential, a coat of arms of courage and vision.

15.63 Language

Berger insists on the importance of language in the formation of identity:

> Language is both the foundation and the instrumentality of the social construction of reality. Language focalizes, patterns and objectivates individual experience. Language is the principal means by which an individual is socialized to become an inhabitant of a world shared with others and also provides the means by which in conversation with these others, the common world continues to be plausible to him. On this linguistic base is erected the edifice of interpretative schemes, cognitive and moral norms, value systems and finally, theoretically articulated world 'views' which in their totality form the world of collective representations (as the Durkheimian school put it) of any given society (Berger 1971:96).

Language orders experiences. In a world of social order, the 'collective consciousness' which prevents anomie can develop.

The priority given by the Mob to the speaking of the vernacular, and its development as a literary form, points to an awareness of the role played by language usage in securing identity.

The importance placed on the role of the marrngu in teaching the vernacular, both in its spoken and literary form, attests to the perception of the Mob that identity is located within language.

This is an area not to be placed in the hands of white linguists.

15.64 Naming

Naming as an idential has always been important in the history of any race. The importance of a naming used not only to identify, but to actually bestow a new identity, is clearly brought out in the writings of the Old and New Testament.

In the Strelley world people have names that are relics of station and mission days, Jacob, Snowy, Alec, Ginger etc.

The station/mission names used by white people reflect the sedimentation of meaning of an earlier era in the history of the Mob, when they were named by the dominant group in their world.

Nurses in the Pt. Hedland hospital continue the practice of the white world naming the black, by bestowing names on the babies from Strelley.

In the world of the Mob, various names are used.

Kinship relations are expressed in naming - father, sister, grandfather, uncle, etc.

People are named according to their location in a section or subsection within the classification system used by the people of the Western Desert. Everyone belongs to one of four named categories.[1]

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[1] See Berndt and Berndt (1981:47ff.) for an account of the division of the people of the Strelley area into sections. Tonkinson (1974:53) gives the following explanation of the implications of section membership

BANAGA = GARIMARA
BURUNU = MILANGA

The symbol = connects intermarrying sections, and the arrows indicate the direction in which descent is traced and connect the sections of a mother and her children. The same section name is used for its members of both sexes.

The system works as follows: taking a Banaga male as a starting point, he marries one or more members of the Garimara section, whom he calls 'spouse'. He cannot marry any Garimara woman because some other female relatives are also members of the Garimara Section. The children of his marriage will belong to the Milanga section and will, when they grow up, take their spouses from the Burunu section. Children of Milanga women will be Garimara, and of Milanga men will be Banaga (Tonkinson, 1974:53, 54).

Children constantly have their attention drawn to the relationship they have with anyone with whom they come into contact, or even anyone merely passing by.

These are public names, known to all, indeed impressed on all whenever the occasion offers, in order to ensure ordered interaction within the group.

For Aboriginal people, however, personal names have a special power, intimately associated with identity.

The marrngu are reluctant to reveal their own or anyone else's personal name.

Tonkinson gives the following explanation:

> One's name is as much a part of one's self as are parts of the body. A sorcerer could thus use a person's name to work sorcery against him (Tonkinson, 1974:53).

The fact that these personal names are not known to white staff is an indication of the reality of traditional elements in the 'world' of the Mob; it provides objective evidence of subjective location into an Aboriginal identity.

However, it is in the naming of the people, as a people, that we find this objective evidence in a striking form. The term Aboriginal/ Aborigine[1] used by white people and urban Aborigines is not used by the Mob. The aborigine is again marrngu - man, humankind. The people name themselves and this naming carries with it an identity, the location of the self in a particular world of meaning. For the Strelley Mob, identity is bestowed by the Mob, not by white society.

15.65 Possessions

The people have possessions that are of western origin. Some are held in common - the station property, the school, community

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[1] An exception to this is found when marta marta are present at a gathering with government representatives. The marrngu distance themselves from the marta marta by using the white terminology for them - "You Aborigines .....say this".

vehicles. Some belong to smaller kinship groups, for example, housing in the various camps. Some possessions are personal - clothing, etc.

Other possessions transcend these and are the true identials for the Mob. Territory, as a possession, is larger than the stations that the Mob live on. Traditional lands still belong to their traditional owners, replete with the symbolism which cannot be abstracted from the territory. This is the case whether or not the people are permitted to live on their tribal lands. The land and its sacred places are the Mob's possessions par excellence.

The Law is a 'possession' in this sense - it is a pre-eminent idential without which identity, location within the group, is impossible.

The sacred objects which are carried with the group are also possessions of the utmost importance.

15.7 Summary

The identity of the Mob is thus secured by identials that are specific to the marrngu, by strong adherence to a linguistic base on which "is erected the edifice of interpretative schemes, cognitive and moral norms, value systems and theoretically articulated world 'views' which in their totality form the collective representations of any given society" (Berger, 1971:96). Naming is seen to locate individuals in the group, in a manner having power over their lives. And finally, the possessions of the group transcend merely material perishable possessions.

All the evidence supports only one of the typologies of identity delineated by Erikson and de Levita, namely that of ego-identity.

It is questionable whether 'western' typologies of identities can be applied across cultures - whether identity formation in Aboriginal society can be reviewed in the same way as western society.

Certainly, there is no reason to suppose that the work of Erikson and de Levita was intended to be applied across cultures.

Nevertheless, it is an interesting and informative exercise to organize perceptions of the formation of identity among the marrngu, using the categories supplied by Erikson and de Levita.

The psychological reality possible within the group, the manner in which individuals may apprehend this reality, and the confirmation given to the Strelley psychological model will now be examined.

CHAPTER XVI

TYPOLOGIES OF IDENTITY : THE AFFIRMATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF THE STRELLEY MOB

16.1 Typologies of identity

From the writings of Erikson and de Levita[1] typologies of identity were shown to include ego-identity, negative identity and identity-diffusion. The subjective correlates of the typologies of identity were also detailed[2].

The identities offered at Strelley will now be discussed using Erikson's and de Levita's framework.

16.11 Ego identity

Strength and coherence of identity, are dependent, according to de Levita, (1965:58) on certain characteristics, (i) functional constancy, (ii) trust, (iii) autonomy.

(i) Functional constancy

Functional constancy is defined as:

> ... standing in relation always to the same world, the feeling of occupying a place of one's own in the community (de Levita, 1965:58).

This description is a particularly apt one of the 'world' of Strelley within which the individual is socialized into an Aboriginal identity. The ideology of the group is strongly articulated. In this it differs from mainstream society where there is not one clearly identifiable system of values[3]. In a society, such as that of Strelley, which is regulated according to the Law, its values

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[1] See p.28ff.above.

[2] See p. 33 above.

[3] For example, in the white 'world', opposing values are held strongly about abortion, the death penalty, genetic engineering, mining nuclear substances, nuclear warfare, the nuclear family, etc.

clearly and constantly articulated, individuals see themselves "standing in relation always to the same world", "feeling that they occupy a place of their own in the community"[1] (de Levita 1965:58). Indeed it is essential for the harmonious working of the group that everyone has a place and is seen to have a place in it.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:154) point out that primary socialization in any world of meaning presents no problems of identification. There is no possibility of choice of one's parents.

Problems may arise in secondary socialization. The alternative society of Strelley, however, ensures by its structuring of reality that the significant others of primary socialization remain the significant others of secondary socialization, people who assent to the same social 'world', which provides at all times the possibility of functional constancy for securing identity.

16.11

(ii) Trust/distrust

Trust of others,and the consequent typification that allows the possibility of predicting behaviour (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:74, 75) necessary for ongoing social interaction, is emphasized by Erikson (1977:222) as necessary for strength of identity.

In a situation where a people have been demeaned and degraded, an appropriate generalized attitude, out of which typifications are formed, might well be one of distrust. In actuality, one is struck by the tolerance of a group that has endured so much at the hands of white men, but is able to rise above stereotypes and offer (or withhold) their trust at a personal level. There is no sense of basic mistrust, nor is there a sense that trust is given lightly.

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[1]An exception to this occurs when members disobey the Law seriously, for example, in the case where a marriage is not 'straight', that is within the prescribed kinship groupings. A child of such a marriage has no place of his own in the community. The Law does not allow for such a circumstance. No-one is responsible for his education. It is as if the child does not exist (Taped interview).

Trust must be won on a personal level.

In the case of relationships within the group, the continued cohesion of the group, which is so patently a social construction, provides evidence of the trust which permits interaction, making possible that typification and prediction of behaviour which is necessary for the ordered functioning of the group.

16.11

(iii) Autonomy, pride/lack of autonomy, shame

The autonomy of the group vis à vis other 'worlds' has been surveyed in detail[1]. This autonomy is reflected in the autonomy of the individual.

Harris notes various indications of autonomy in the behaviour of young people at Milingimbi. He points out (1979:161) that much student behaviour that appears 'unco-operative' or 'disobedient' or 'rebellious' is in fact a display of autonomy and is not directed at the teacher personally; it is consistent and normal Yolngu[2] behaviour which is found in relationships with all people, other than a few particular authority figures in the young person's life.

Harris devotes considerable space to commenting on the Aboriginal view at Milingimbi not only of the right to speak, but the right not to listen.

He notes (1979:388) that there is no expression for thanks in the language: people do things because they want to, or because they have an obligation, in respect to specific relationships.

This personal autonomy is found also at Strelley. Although children are expected to attend all school classes, adults come freely to (or freely withdraw from) 'school' activities.

The Warralong Principal commented that his

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[1] See p. 181 ff.

[2] Yolngu is the term for mankind in the Milingimbi area.

> ... one attempt to introduce a programme not specifically asked for by the community, namely recreation craft in the evenings for younger men, was an unmitigated disaster and thereby taught a valuable lesson about community expectations, needs etc. (Bucknall, 1980:3).

Literacy programmes in the vernacular for adults were well attended, an indication that individuals interact with a world that is real to them, namely the theorizing concerning the importance of the vernacular. They exercise their autonomy in attending classes.

Individuals in western society withdraw mentally from situations while being present physically. The marrngu are not socialized into behaviour of this sort. Western courtesy doubtless involves some degree of hypocrisy. The marrngu are not socialized in this way; they do not feel obliged to pretend interest. They exercise their autonomy by withdrawing.

The personal autonomy of young people is respected in that 'identities' are not imposed upon them. Adults watch for signs of developing interest and expertise and responsibility.

A withdrawal from a particular field is not seen as a failure. Life is a 'becoming' and there is no sense of pressure of time within which achievements should be accomplished, or of shame associated with failing to achieve. Shame may be associated with transgressions against the Law, but this is not a shame associated with lack of autonomy[1], found to such a degree among detribalised Aborigines.

16.12 Delinquency: asymmetry between objective and subjective reality

Berger states that "socialization brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity" (Berger, 1971:96).

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[1] An expression constantly heard among marginal Aboriginal young people in gaol is that they are 'too 'shamed' to do a certain thing.

What has been written above does not posit a complete symmetry of the individual with an offered identity. There are delinquencies. People steal cars, run off from husbands, go to town and get drunk[1].

John Bucknall notes that

> ...with physical growth into teenage years the community's expectations in terms of social interaction and basic socialization institutions (and in particular the Law) come into conflict with the pressures of the big town outside and the hopes, plans and expectations of the white teachers (Bucknall, 1980:4).

It is to be expected that the pressures and excitement of town life will act on the marrngu as they do on Europeans.

Some people do leave, some come back disillusioned by town life[2], some make forays into town life, some are lost to the group because they choose a different identity.

The point at issue is that there is a clear presentation and a choice of a firmly delineated, strongly supported Aboriginal identity to which the individual can respond. If he takes on an identity outside this framework, it is through choice and not the result of confusion experienced by the 'broken people', accompanying the disintegration of structures.

What is posited is a degree of inner cohesion in the group that allows for such delinquencies, almost expects them at some stage, but provides mechanisms for bringing back the (temporary) delinquent into the group. It is almost as if some of the delinquent acts are accepted as part of a growth pattern, waited for, observed

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[1]Taped interview.

[2]Tonkinson describes similar possibilities at Jigalong: "Most Jigalong adults have travelled in the surrounding areas at some stage and are thus aware of what is happening among town-dwelling Aborigines, whose lives seem to be dominated by drunkenness, fighting and gambling, with a consequent breakdown in the Law ... While not denying that they often drink and gamble in town they condemn such activities in retrospect for making people's heads 'no good' and causing them to neglect their families and the Law" (Tonkinson, 1974:143).

almost with some pride as evidence that 'spirit' has been shown[1].

The psychological model is one that accounts for delinquency. The Law prescribes both behavioural norms and the punishment of transgression of these norms. In a sense there would seem to be a reflection of what Erikson describes as a period of moratorium, where young people build a self-concept through trial and error. Some delinquency is almost expected as a stage of development.

The dispensers of justice are there to see that there is retribution, but their main purpose is to integrate the individual back into the group by prescribing the correct mechanism. The tolerance and support, in particular of the extended family, are there to cushion re-integration into the community.

Acts of delinquency that are seen as part of development, are also means of testing functional constancy. The individual sees clearly that despite his delinquency he 'stands in relation always to the same world' and does not forfeit the right of 'occupying a place of his own in the community'.

The people accept the norms made by the group, and its punishments. The psychological model is 'real' in its effects.

Deviancy, which is allowed for in the world of Strelley as a developmental phase, is in sharp contrast to a deviant identity as such.

De Levita discusses socialization into a deviant identity:

> It is easier to derive a sense of identity from a total identification with what one is least supposed to be than to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are unobtainable with the (person's) inner means.

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[1]Taped interview

> Many a late adolescent would, if faced with continuing 'identity' diffusion, rather be nobody or somebody bad, or even dead - and this totally and by free choice than be not quite somebody (de Levita, 1965:31).

Erikson makes the same point:

> Young people may find a greater sense of identity in being withdrawn, or being delinquent (Erikson, 1977:254-256).

Manifestly, 'acceptable roles' in the Strelley community are obtainable within the person's inner means. Individuals may, of course, not choose acceptable roles; however, they are not pressured to attain to roles beyond their capacity.

Clearly, the world of the group provides structures for ego-identity, which are reinforced by the fact that the psychological model provided by the Mob is real to the individuals who form part of it.

16.2 Psychological reality within the socially constructed world

An exploration of the dynamism between psychological models and psychological reality accepts that the test of the 'reality' of a particular model lies in whether or not actors in their everyday lives by their everyday behaviour, exhibit their assent to the psychological model propounded.

It must be noted that a number of models exist in competition with the particular model advanced by the Strelley community. There is the model of (white) cattle stations, both sedimented and contemporary. There is the model of white urban culture. There is the model of the world of missions.

These models are explicitly rejected by the theorizing of the Mob. They are not advanced as psychological models within which psychological reality is to be found. Rather, these worlds are nihilated. They are 'not-to-be-taken-seriously' worlds.

Individuals, at times, or for a time, may attempt to find their psychological reality within these models. But it is necessary for them to leave the physical world of Strelley to do this.

In a sense then, statements about the reality of the model would seem to be tautological. People who remain in the physical world of Strelley reflect their acceptance of this model.

However, it can be shown that while there are a few who leave this world permanently, the opposite is also happening. The 'world' of meaning is attracting others.

Reference has been made to those of the Jigalong Mob who have migrated to Camp 61. The Noonkanbah group and Alice Springs group accept the Strelley model of the 'world' that holds a community school as being of the utmost importance. For these groups, the model of Strelley is a 'real' one, not merely for Strelley but also for others who believe they can locate themselves and establish their identity in this model.

Manifestly, not only at Strelley but for other groups, the Strelley model is plausible.

Within Strelley itself there is another model offered.

Undoubtedly, the white families and white children present an alternative model to the marrngu. Nevertheless, while children play together freely and adults interact freely, it is the Aboriginal people who decide how the white people will be incorporated. It is they who have decided where the European housing should be, and have distanced it from their own dwellings (as indeed they distance themselves from each other, in different 'camps').

There is no evidence of children, outside school hours, gravitating to a preferred teacher. The marrngu psychological model would appear to be self-sufficient, providing its own exemplars and its own fulfilment from within itself.

All the evidence suggests that, as Berger posits, "self and society are inextricably interwoven entities" (Berger 1971:96). Socialization

shapes a self that 'knows' this self-apprehension to be the only 'real' one and rejects as 'unreal' any contrary models of apprehension or emotionality.

In a situation where Aboriginal society is mainstream society, then the white mode is 'unreal', and does not offer a possible self. The opposite would be true in a white world.

Stark (1958:34) points out that there are, according to Scheler, "three distinct forms of knowing which, though they all have a permanent ground in life and co-exist in all societies, none the less exist or predominate at different times and places in different proportions: religious knowledge, metaphysical knowledge, and scientific knowledge".

The psychological reality of Strelley is a predominantly religious one.

Tonkinson underlines this point.

> The Aborigines are sceptical of the ability of whites to communicate with and benefit from the spiritual realm.
>
> Their ethnocentrism prevents them from examining western non-material culture as a possible alternative to their own (Tonkinson, 1974:195).

Nevertheless, in a situation where the Aborigines believe they have the Law as the 'truth', their ethnocentrism does not require that they demean the life-style of others - of the teachers they employ, for example. There is no evidence of the global 'hatred' of whites, admitted to by individuals in the writings of Gilbert (1977:13, 91) and Tatz (1975:passim).

Further evidence that the tradition-oriented model based in a religious world finds issue in a psychological reality may be demonstrated by the fact that young men are initiated, and this is a source of self-esteem and prestige[1].[2]

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[1]Taped interview.

[2]Older men were also being separated from the Mob for initiation into higher stages of the Law.

At Pt. Augusta, by comparison, a different psychological model produces a different psychological reality. Young men go in fear of being initiated[1], or see this as a 'backward step'[2].

The acceptance of a 'tribal' psychological model at Strelley means that the Kadaitja men[3] have reportedly been sighted in recent times. Whether sightings took place or not is irrelevant. The point is that, reported sightings, given credibility, affirm the existence of the tribal psychological model[4] and its power over the individual to reproduce psychological reality, just as reported visions of the Virgin Mary affirm the existence of a religious model of a different world of meaning.

The acceptance of those elements of the Law within the model which prescribe kin behavioural patterns are reflected in the observed avoidance patterns between adults in daily encounter, in the behaviour of school age children in the structured class situation, in the importance placed on 'straight' marriages (i.e. marriages within the prescription of the Law).

At the same time, it is possible to observe the psychological reality being adapted to accept as real the sedimented norms of cattle stations, norms about which the Law is silent.

Thus the young cattle breakers dress in wild west outfits. Work with cattle is attractive and exciting.

It would seem that these values of white society have been absorbed without further adverting to their provenance. It is not *because* they are white values they are embraced. Rather, they are intrinsically attractive. The Law says nothing good or bad about working with cattle or about the clothes to be worn.

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[1] At Pt. Augusta there were a number of instances where individuals affirmed nervousness at the presence in the town of men from the north - the nervousness arose from the fear of the young men that they would be taken off and initiated.

[2] Taped interview.

[3] Kadaitja refers to shoes made of fur string and emu feathers, and to the men who wear them, forming a party to avenge injury through magic (Elkin, 1954:313-315; Berndt and Berndt, 1981:324-5).

[4] When this research was written up, and discussed with the men at Strelley, they requested that this fact should not be published, a further proof of the reality of their psychology model.

Thus the inclusion of certain elements of white culture cannot be said to provide an alternative psychological model. The psychological model provided is firmly embedded in the Law. White accretions would appear to be sedimentations from the days of white employment, now part of the given world, and not immediately separable from other sedimentations.

16.3 Affirmation of the Strelley Model by the white world

Perhaps one of the crucial aspects of the affirmation of psychological reality that comes from the structuring of the particular psychological model of a tradition-oriented world is found in the support given to this model by the white 'world'.

16.31 Affirmation of the Strelley Model by white staff

It has been pointed out[1] that the white staff interact with the marrngu theorizing, and accept the model offered to themselves as teachers and advisers. They too, find a psychological reality within the psychological model, and strive to alter their perception of their role as teachers, in accordance with this model.

The white staff adapt their institutionalization of typifications learned in another 'world'. For example, they observe the avoidance relations prescribed, they observe the prescriptions about bringing alcohol to the station and accept the punishment meted out for (inadvertant) transgression within the psychological model. The world of the Mob is very real to them.

One young teacher was unwittingly involved in a 'delinquency' on the part of a member of the community. It was considered by the Mob that he should be made aware of the gravity of the situation. A solemn meeting of the whole group was held, including the teachers. The young man in question was ably defended by the kin allocated to him who spoke on his behalf. He was informed of what the tribal punishment should be, but was fined and everyone, both marrngu

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[1] See pp. 225, 252.

and non-marrngu, was made aware of the gravity of the transgression and the importance of keeping the Law[1]. At the same time, in an indefinable way, the teacher felt that his acceptance of reproof had enhanced his status in the community. Transcending 'delinquency' was seen as a progression in maturation.

16.32 Affirmation of the Strelley model by other white groups

The psychological model is affirmed by other white groups. It is affirmed by the state school authorities; school inspectors recognise Strelley as providing an alternative situation and interact with this different model by providing an alternative means of assessment. The Strelley model is affirmed by teacher training authorities attempting to structure alternative ways of meeting Strelley's needs.

16.33 Non-affirmation of the model by white society in general

The question of whether this world can be maintained would seem to depend on the maintenance of inherent and external factors of continuity within the situation, and on affirmation from the individual members of the group who confirm the model in essential ways (teacher training, school organization). However, the continued presence of 'enemies' who were seen to give coherence and focus to theorizing[2] also contributes to universe maintenance.

That the psychological model is not affirmed by white society at large can be of no consequence for individual acceptance of the model within the 'world' of Strelley. Universes of meaning that are proclaimed as belonging to enemies are nihilated - they exist for white people. They cannot be 'taken-seriously' by tradition-oriented people.

The fact that these same white people question the Strelley model merely serves to reaffirm its validity for the marrngu.

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[1] Taped interview.

[2] See p. 206.

However, it must be pointed out that the white 'world' in contact with Strelley does support the model. Increasingly, welfare workers and police request the Mob to take town Aborigines and rehabilitate them within the Mob's structures.

It suffices at this point to say that the evidence supports the fact that the psychological model offered by the theorizing of the group does appear to be real to the group and to determine their psychological reality and their choice of identity within this reality.

The question of how long this 'world' will be permitted to continue to offer a psychological reality is a separate question, depending on issues which will now be discussed in Chapter XVI, issues of political, cultural, economic viability.

CHAPTER XVII
THE VIABILITY OF STRELLEY

17.1 Introduction

Beyond the question of the 'reality' of the Strelley Mob for its members, is the question of the viability of the Strelley model, in terms of the prognosis of the ability of the Mob to maintain itself over and against the white world, without being subsumed by this alien world.

The viability of the group, its ability to perpetuate itself, will now be examined in terms of its political, cultural and economic base.

17.2 Political viability

The continued viability of the political structure that has been developed within the group will depend to a great extent on the ability of the group to provide structures within which traditional modes of leadership are nurtured.

The group has not suffered the fate of reserve Aborigines where able people left the group and were then defined as non-Aborigines, leaving only a negative definition of identity for those who remained. At Strelley, able people do not leave; they are the leaders, and present a source of positive indoctrination for others.

In some tradition-oriented situations[1], leadership patterns, hierarchical authority patterns, and the protocol which protects these have been disturbed because of the need to appoint one of the marrngu without authority, but able to speak English, as conveyor of the wishes of the group to white authorities.

At Strelley, on all important occasions, the people speak for themselves - to Debelle, the Law Reform Commissioner[2], to the teacher-

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[1]This occurred at Noonkanbah in the confrontation between the Aboriginal people and the representatives of the Amax mining company, in 1980 (see p. 178, note 4). The problem is also reflected in the confrontation between Miller and Viner at Aurukun, described on p. 121 above.

[2]See p. 176.

training authorities in Perth[1], to the agents of the Department for Aboriginal Affairs , the Department of Community Welfare, the magistrates, the Police, to the marta marta of the National Aboriginal Committee.

Young, new leaders are being trained and tried, men who inherit the idential of the Mob's history when they endured extreme suffering. They have not experienced this at first hand, though they are keenly aware of this history through contact with its heroes, and aware of the present suffering of the important men who carry a load of responsibility which makes almost unbearable demands. Only time will tell whether young people of the same calibre will continue to emerge as leaders. There seems no reason to doubt that this will happen.

The legitimation of new leaders who have not been part of the historic suffering and survival will obviously be an area of concern. However, the fact that such leaders are being chosen out and trained by the elders ensures an unbroken line of authority.

The question must be asked whether a Strelley type 'world' will continue to be permitted by the dominant group - or indeed can be permitted by the dominant group.

From without, threats to political autonomy lie in government policy and attitudes. The government has the power to permit, even deliberately encourage, mining and the incursions of the white world in other areas, such as tourism. The exercise of autonomy at Strelley comes into conflict with the aims of mainstream society. The Mob's practice of self-determination, their exercise of autonomy designed to preserve the traditional elements of their culture cannot be tolerated when it cuts across the economic interests of the business world.

Aborigines throughout Australia seek to exercise autonomy by claiming rights to traditional lands. Such claims pose a threat

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[1]See pp. 210, 220.

both to mining interests and to those governments that give precedence to mining activities over the rights of the traditional owners of the land.

In the seventies and early eighties, mining, particularly in Western Australia, was one of the most buoyant areas in the economy. In 1980, Court, the Premier of Western Australia, denied the rights of the people to prevent mining on areas that contained sacred sites.

He gave police protection to heavy machinery moving into Noonkanbah[1].

Resistance to the Amax mining company was thus also resistance to the Western Australian Government.

The history of European/Aboriginal contact is one where Aborigines were moved off tribal lands (and hence made dependent) as settlers needed to expand their enterprises. The expectation of mining companies is that this will continue to happen.

The battle for justice in Land Rights today is the major issue of confrontation between black and white. The autonomy of Aboriginal groups in all their affairs, but especially in controlling access to their sacred sites, rests on a fragile base decided by white self-interest.

In this area, cultural and political viability are entwined.

However, in so far as cultural viability can be separated out, it would appear to depend on the continued successful socialization of youth into the psychological model of the Mob, a model centred on the conservation of the Law.

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[1]See p. 178.

17.3 Cultural viability

To a large extent, cultural viability will depend on the preservation and strengthening of the role of language. Language not only socializes individuals into a world view alternative to that of white society; it also forms a 'boundary from within', promoting the cultural cohesion of the group and preserving the secret/sacred elements of the Law[1].

This particular area is given the greatest importance by the group; there is no doubt that the vernacular is held in greater esteem than English.

The viability of the culture will also depend on the ability of the group to discern and control those elements of white culture which they wish to 'take', but which, in fact, contain latent possibilities for harmful effects on the culture of the group once they are embraced.

It would seem that some values, sedimented from white culture (housing, clothing as possessions), are neutral when they are adapted to Aboriginal use, not prized in themselves.

Other elements, in particular the money economy and motor vehicles, clearly have the possibility of suffering the same mutation from use value to exchange value that is found in white society. If these elements come to be prized in themselves, then the beginnings of esteem and prestige based outside the Law will be seen.

What is the viability of the cultural component of Strelley vis-à-vis mainstream culture?

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[1]It may be noted that both secret societies, and societies maintaining secrets, have great cohesion. One part-Aborigine, far distanced from tribal culture, interviewed in the urban situation, implied a claim to tribal culture (and identity) by purporting to know secrets which could not be revealed.

It has been argued above that the theorizing of the Federal Government and some state Governments about self-determination and self-management, at the policy level, place Aborigines firmly outside the universe of meaning of mainstream society. In such a view, nothing is expected of self-determination. The blame for lack of progress in Aboriginal affairs is firmly placed on the Aborigines themselves, and conceptually, the Aboriginal 'problem' is removed. Derogatory epithets and downgrading views also support this attitude. Premier Court's negative statement[1] about the activities of Aborigines on stations is an example of nihilation.

However, since the marrngu wish to develop an alternative society, such conceptual nihilation for the time being, as long as it does not lead to the cutting off of funds, may be advantageous in permitting further development without white interference.

Certainly the marrngu are not dependent on the approval of the white world in this construction of their world view. They *are* dependent on approval, or toleration, that allows the continuation of grants.

In order to preserve the cultural coherence of the group, the Mob resists any thought of sending its young people to Pt. Hedland to gain technical skills, or to Perth to train as teachers.

For them, the possibility of having an independent school, which they control, is the lynch-pin for the preservation of their culture.

If they do not have their school, and their young people are exposed to alien indoctrination in schools administered by the dominant group in society, their fight to conserve their culture will be lost.

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[1] See p. 197.

17.4 Viability of the Strelley Community School

One of Strelley's great strengths lies in the fact that it provides, within its world,an independent alternative schooling system in microcosm; the community is not dependent on the state system of schooling to supply teachers or curriculum. The Mob itself provides a system for primary, secondary and adult education - with an emphasis on a curriculum oriented towards employment adapted to community needs; a curriculum that screens out white cultural values.

Since it is a *system* that is provided and not merely a school for school-age children, a comparatively large staff of white people is employed, providing the possibility of a community within itself. In 1980 there were ten European adults resident at Strelley, five at Warralong, two at Carlindi, one at Lala Rookh, a large enough group to provide the possibility of interaction with diverse others[1].

The selection of staff is a most important factor. Isolation and cross cultural pressures, as well as the pre-requisite of commitment to the Mob's philosophy, demands a selection of personnel that is critical.

Stability is valued by the Aboriginal community as well as being of great importance to continuity of policy[2]. There is the need for at least a core of school personnel to give continuous service. Nevertheless, such stability cannot be allowed to create a static, reified situation. It is necessary for group interaction to contain within it sufficient conflict to retain its dynamism.

The school situation is central to the search for identity at Strelley. It is a focal point for the whole community.

Tonkinson (1974) in his study of the Jigalong Mob came to the conclusion that the self esteem and racial pride, which he observed and believed to be essential to the preservation of the Law within the group, could only be maintained by a strong ethnocentrism. He

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[1]The staff was increased in 1981/1982 by a further two members.

[2]Taped interview.

examined "the aspirations, motives, behaviour of all participating groups", of the Aborigines and of the mission staff, as well as station owners. He argued that the lack of communication between the Aborigines and mission staff was a powerful support for each group in its theorizing about its activities and its maintenance of separate identities.

In the case of Strelley, the staff are employed by the marrngu. The former know clearly that it is the marrngu who formulate policy. White staff are employed for a specific purpose, to exercise their teaching function. The role of social worker, or of the socializing agent so often confused with the role of the teacher in mainstream society, is not their role.

In order to be part of this situation, the staff must enter into a view of reality that attempts to adopt, for that situation, the ethnocentrism of the marrngu themselves, a reversal of the situation where the dominant group is Anglo-Saxon and expects other groups to become assimilated into their particular ethnocentric view.

However, concepts such as self-determination and independence are abstractions given different meanings, in theory and practice, by government agencies, new type secular 'missionaries' from among white people and the Aboriginal people themselves. It is likely, perhaps inescapable, that the Strelley 'world' will be influenced by the interaction of white staff, just as, undeniably, the interaction with the Aboriginal people subtly changes the 'world' of theorizing with which individual white staff interact to form their identity.

The continuation of the school, with its role of strengthening self-determination, is dependent upon the selection of committed, sensitive, stable staff able not only to survive, but to grow personally through the pressures inherent in the situation they have undertaken.

It has been posited above[1] that education in contemporary society must be viewed as located within the conceptualisation of Australia as a multi-cultural country.

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[1] See p.145.

On the wider Australian scene, in the area of education, there is pressure for multicultural education,or at least education for a multicultural society. Acceptance of this notion at the governmental level stops short at the acceptance of a multi-structural society, which is implict in the Strelley 'world' construct.

For Strelley to have a firm basis of theoretical support, it must be seen as operating autonomously not only within a situation of cultural pluralism, but rather within the context of structural pluralism, that is, a pluralism that is not merely notional, respecting a diversity of cultures, but one that permits alternative structures to allow a real diversity of culture to develop.

The world view of the Mob allows for alternative structures for others. They respect the white law, they respect those white people who earn their respect. They are not racist in their rejection of the structures that are the 'norm' for the dominant society. They do not reject the structures for white people: they reject them as inappropriate for themselves. They seek to regain their own independence, to regain a measure of control over their lives, and hold that they cannot do this through white structures,since their psychological model is quite other than that of white society.

For them, there is no point in a multi-cultural society without multi-structures, since their biography tells them that their traditional culture was destroyed, and currently their tradition-oriented culture is threatened by the culture of others having power to nihilate.

For Strelley,there is no place in current conceptualisations of a multi-cultural society. The Aboriginal world is both placed outside the frame of reference by the dominant group,and places itself outside the frame of reference,in order to pursue the goal of building a culture that excludes those not committed to it, and rejects (for itself) the norms of other cultures.

It would be bizarre in the extreme to imagine the Strelley Mob advocating the learning of a foreign language on the basis of

broadening cultural perspectives. The Strelley Mob rejects white 'culture-laden' material in education, arguing that it destroys their culture. English (for them a foreign language) is a tool for interaction with the dominant culture, and not a means of access to a literature and a culture.

Policy statements on multi-cultural education place great emphasis on language as preserving cultural identity. The Aboriginal language manifestly does this par excellence. But the identity thus strengthened is away from mainstream culture. Very few Europeans would opt to learn an Aboriginal language. If they did, there would be a choice of a plethora of languages. The use of Aboriginal language presupposes a situation that is multi-structural as well as multi-cultural.

Multiculturalism may be seen as a policy accommodating politically the pressures of certain groups within ethnic communities, rather than as a policy that embraces all groups in the community.

The Australian Schools Commission has strongly supported community involvement in schools, strongly supported the exploration of alternatives to schooling, the development of curricula that take account of changing patterns of employment, of changing opportunities for work and changing community values that accompany this.

All of these aims are already found to be in existence at Strelley; their practical implementation there could well provide insights, in other situations, for schools which are seriously attempting to provide an alternative education to meet the needs of their particular clientele in a rapidly changing social and economic situation.

However, the alternative system conducted at Strelley is predicated on a set of values that may well not be acceptable to the Australian mainstream model of the 'world', structured according to the values and norms of the dominant group. While the dominant group may be able to tolerate, deplore, ignore a depressed minority within its framework and encourage 'alternative' schools embedded within the framework of the dominant society, it is problematic whether the dominant group can tolerate a minority group who shake off their

dependence, and strive towards autonomy in a different value system, a group who become self-determining not only in theory, but in reality.

Self-determination,in the area of 'what is held to be knowledge', questions radically the assumptions of the dominant group and its power to impose its definitions of knowledge on minority groups.

What is 'held to be knowledge' in the educational curriculum and how it has come to be held as knowledge has been explored by Young (1971), and others, who show, in the tradition of Marx, how the dominant ideas in society are the ideas of the dominant group.

An alternative cultural system threatens the dominant group: what is held to be knowledge, the curriculum, must be seen as an integral component of the cultural system, and hence a curriculum that is really alternative,equally,must be seen as threatening mainstream culture.

It will be interesting to see further outcomes of the meetings in Darwin, in 1982, of representatives of Aboriginal Independent Schools. It may be that such a show of strength, by increasing the credibility of the community school movement, moves it out of the 'not-to-be-taken-seriously' category into one demanding therapy or nihilation to repair the injury done to the symbolic universe of the dominant group.

It must be concluded that the school is viable, that the group contains within itself the 'inherent factors of continuity' posited by Sorokin for the perpetuation of the group, and in particular, of the school.

However, the political and cultural autonomy of Strelley, and its ability to support an independent school rests, in turn, upon its economic viability.

17.5 Economic viability

Legislation, introduced in 1968, to ensure that Aboriginal stockmen were paid the minimum wage, led to a lessening of jobs available for Aborigines. Tonkinson (1974:149) discusses the effects at Jigalong, which resulted in loss of employment.

The Strelley Mob had withdrawn from the stations in the mid-forties. They first earned a precarious living at mining, then moved to leasing stations, thus having almost forty years' history of self-employment. For them, paradoxically, the current high levels of unemployment work towards the possibility of their maintaining their alternative identity. The depressed state of employment in Australia as a whole, and the prejudice and discrimination shown towards Aborigines, make it most unlikely that Aboriginal people would gain employment in the wider society in competition with white people.

While the attraction of the excitement of cities remains, there is not in the eighties the attraction of employment, better living conditions, better education that drew Aborigines to the cities in the fifties and sixties.

The Strelley type solution offers a viable economic alternative within certain restraints. So long as the sharing of their income and social benefits (and hardships) obtains, so long as there is an acceptance of a frugal life-style, the variety of station needs makes it possible to provide work situations which are very diverse in character and which contribute to the good of the whole. The personal enterprise advocated by governments as a way out of unemployment has already been adopted by the group as they strive to make their 'world' operate within a viable economy, contiguous to white society rather than integrated within it.

However, to implement their policies, the Mob must incur certain expenses which are a drain on their economy.

In accordance with the Mob's policy of not sending their people away to white institutions for training, they themselves, for a time

at least, must employ Europeans and provide salaries and housing for them,and consequently incur expense. By the Mob's own choice their own housing remains at a low level. They opt instead to provide from their resources for housing for white staff,because schooling is the highest priority.

People must be educated in the Law, and individuals made members of the group by going through the 'business'. The Mob must provide for the expenses of ceremonies where large numbers of people aggregate for a long period and need food no longer readily provided by hunting.

The people make great personal sacrifices to maintain their autonomy. Nevertheless, this autonomy is dependent on their economic viability. While they are beginning to gain income from their station ventures, to a large extent, the Mob remains dependent on grants of various sorts: social welfare benefits, Aboriginal Education grants, grants made by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Schools Commission grants, support from the Nomads Foundation.

The continuation of many of these grants, and hence the economic viability of the group, depends on government policy and the interpretation of government policy by those appointed to administer it.

The marrngu believe that the Western Australia Government is making it very difficult for Aborigines to lease stations. They also believe that the Government will look to ways of decreasing support - a belief that is not without foundation. A newspaper report in November, 1982, referred to the possibility of withholding social security benefits from Aborigines in Western Australia.

Economic viability will continue to rest on a fragile, uncertain base for some time to come.

17.6 Summary

The rhetoric of current policies is directed to self-determination, self-management.

Where there are civil servants with empathy, aware to some extent of their ethnocentrism, there is the possibility of a liberal interpretation of policy, of a departure from the pragmatic (programmes for housing can be seen and measured), to an attempt to understand and come to grips with, the problem of identity. This presupposes an effort on the part of civil servants to interact with mainstream theorizing, in order to bring about its realization. Such a possibility, however, rests on the availability of staff with rare gifts of understanding and tolerance[1].

The marrngu are dependent on the good will, availability and suitability of teachers to undertake work with the Mob which demands special qualities of physical and psychological endurance.

The Strelley 'world' is not a world 'tout court'. It is a world over and against the world of dominant culture. It is dependent for its continued existence on its own strength from within to surmount the problems strewing a path towards autonomy; it is dependent upon its ability to construct a 'world' of meaning within which identity is satisfactorily located; it is dependent upon the support (or at least lack of opposition) of those exerting power in funding agencies.

The fact that Strelley is going from strength to strength indicates that there is sufficient good will currently, from the white 'world', and sufficient inner strength from the community, for them to achieve a high degree of autonomy.

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[1] In other locations in the outstation movement, where there is a trend for Aboriginal people to withdraw from the mission/reserve situation, the Aboriginal people are dependent on the tolerance and sympathetic understanding of the State Education Department to support their moves, and to provide teachers.

On balance, it must be concluded that the Strelley world is an alternative, viable world contiguous to white society, even if dependent upon white society in the ways outlined.

The importance of Strelley for urban Aboriginal people is found in the fact that it presents a model of a world that is a *conscious social construct*.

It exists as an alternative system. Ergo, *alternative systems are possible*. Strelley offers a secure identity, an identity that is specifically Aboriginal. Ergo, *the construction of Aboriginal identity is possible*.

The insights drawn from Strelley for the building of identity, and the applicability of these insights to other situations, will be discussed in the relevant sections below, where Aboriginal identity in the urban situation is explored.

CHAPTER XVIII

ABORIGINAL WORLDS - PT. AUGUSTA AND ADELAIDE

18.1 Introduction

In every conceivable comparison, the Aborigines and Islanders stand

> *...in stark contrast to the general Australian society, and also to other 'ethnic' groups whether defined on the basis of race, nationality, birthplace, language or religion. They probably have the highest growth rate, the highest birth rate, the highest death rate, the worst health and housing, the lowest educational, occupational, economic, social and legal status of any identifiable sector of the overall population in Australia* (National Population Inquiry Report, 1975:455).

> *The majority of Aborigines in the city are better housed, better educated, better employed, in better health, and less liable to mental illness or criminal behaviour, than are their rural counterparts. However, to say that city Aborigines are better off than rural Aborigines is not to say that they are adequately housed, well educated, fully employed or properly cared for either medically, legally or socially ... they still suffer disadvantage in almost every respect by comparison with the general population* (Gale, 1972:261).

It has been posited that any particular socially constructed, socially maintained world offers a choice of identities. Within this world a psychological model is structured and maintained and predicates (though does not determine) particular responses.

It has been shown, for example, that Strelley offered a psychological model where the Law was paramount, calling forth certain identities and certain patterns of behaviour.

The 'worlds' of Pt. Augusta and Adelaide, the 'objective reality' in which identity is situated, will now be examined. Sorokin's framework, used to discuss the world of Strelley, will again be used to give coherence to the analysis.

18.2 The Aboriginal 'worlds' of Pt. Augusta and Adelaide - membership

The picture painted by the National Population Inquiry for Aborigines in general, and by Gale, with particular reference to Adelaide, shows Aborigines who are contexted into the white world living in situations of great deprivation and disadvantage.

The problem with such generalized assessments is that, by their nature, they cannot take account of the differences that exist *within* Aboriginal worlds.

The 'world' of Aboriginal people in Adelaide was mapped in detail in a 1980 study.

Gale and Wundersitz surveyed two city areas, namely the local government area of Pt. Adelaide, in which the students attending Taperoo High School are housed, and the satellite city of Elizabeth/Salisbury, the area in which the students at Salisbury North High School are located. Gale and Wundersitz' findings therefore apply to the city population with which this present study is concerned.

Gale and Wundersitz found that the migration flow of Aborigines to the city had decreased since a study carried out by Gale in 1966; relatively fewer Aboriginal people had moved to the city during the seventies.

The migration of Aborigines to the city had stabilised; an increasing proportion of Aborigines in the study were born in the city. Forty-nine per cent of 387 respondents from the Pt. Adelaide area gave Adelaide as their place of birth; 47.6 per cent of 424 respondents from the Salisbury area gave Adelaide as their place of birth (Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:52). These people may be seen as an acculturated group.

Nevertheless, even those born in Adelaide located themselves within a 'mission' identity: they were Point Pearce people or Point McLeay people (ibid:110).

Grandmothers were found to provide a focal point in giving a sense of identity to their descendants. In particular, through the grandmothers, contact was maintained with the reserve where they had been born. People went back to the reserve for funerals. Children were inducted into this identification process by being sent to the reserves for holidays.

However, while the kin groups are closely knit, this does not make it possible to speak of an Aboriginal *community* in Adelaide.

Gale and Wundersitz point out that,

> ...despite the fact that all regional groups are represented in the study, the amount of interaction between distinctive groups even in this relatively small and compact area [the Pt. Adelaide district] appears to be quite limited. During the interviewing process, it became clear that related persons knew a great deal about each other but very little concerning Aboriginal families with whom they had no kin ties (Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:110).

Braddock and Wanganeen found that the majority of Adelaide Aborigines who had purchased their own homes were

> ...people who have married whites and/or are in good professional or semi-professional jobs. The scattered location of homes chosen for purchase suggests that these people as a group are less dependent on the close proximity and support of the rest of the Aboriginal community (quoted in Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:69).

Gale and Wundersitz found evidence of the same phenomenon:

> Those who perceive the reserve bonds to be restrictive and wish to break from them try to find houses away from kinsfolk. Some Aborigines who live in scattered locations are virtually out of contact with other city-dwelling Aborigines. Using terminology of earlier days, they are 'assimilated' (Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:100).

Furthermore, observation reveals division along class lines, recognised by Aboriginal people themselves.

Natasha McNamara (in Gilbert, 1977:107) remarked on the fact that there was a middle-class in the Aboriginal world in Adelaide.

Thus the Aboriginal people in Adelaide cannot be said, as a whole, to form a coherent group. Nor do they see themselves as a coherent group.

Membership is not of an Aboriginal community as such, but of a kinship grouping.

The lack of cohesion is reflected also in the services available to Aborigines.

In Adelaide, the State Health Authority is responsible for an Aboriginal Health Unit, staffed by white professionals and Aboriginal field officers; its aim is to encourage Aboriginal people to use established health facilities.

An alternative medical service for Aborigines was set up in 1981 at the Aboriginal Community Centre, based on a quite different rationale.

Similarly, programmes for alcoholics are run by two different groups, the Aboriginal sobriety group and the Methodist Mission.

The body set up to monitor and coordinate funding and programmes for Aboriginals is a government-established body, the Aboriginal Advancement Committee.

In general, there are tandem initiatives - those which are government sponsored and controlled, and those over which Aboriginal people exert control.

The existence of these programmes with different rationales show the different needs of different clienteles, and underline the fact that the Aboriginal people do not form a cohesive group.

The model proposed (Figure 3, p. 72) for city Aborigines would seem to need further refinement.

While it is true that the Aboriginal people are located *within* the white world, they cannot be seen as forming a community in the sense that Strelley is a community of linguistic groups, united within one overarching group.

The Aboriginal 'world' of Adelaide should rather be depicted by a series of small kin-related groups and individual families integrated into the white world.

At Pt. Augusta, different factors operate. As in the case of Adelaide, the Aboriginal people can be stratified along class lines, as well as being categorised according to their place of origin.

There are Aboriginal families long established in a life style similar to that of white people. Individuals do not, however, see themselves as part of white society (Gaskell, 1980). They live in dwellings dispersed among white groups. Many of the men have a history of employment in the Commonwealth Railways, with the Electricity Trust or with the local council[1]. There are some people who have married into white society, and are integrated into white society.

There are teacher-aides, home school liaison officers at the primary school and high schools, people of standing respected both by the Aboriginal and white communities and with links to the third world of the 'bush' people, the semi-tribal people. who are still in the process of migrating to Pt. Augusta.

. People come to Pt. Augusta from a tradition-oriented group, the Andjamathana. at the Nepabunna[2] mission. These people are held by the people of Pt. Augusta to be 'strong in the head' - that is, having a strong sense of identity rooted in tradition.

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[1]See Table I, p. 57. and Figure 2, facing p. 55, for origins of Aboriginal people surveyed in Pt. Augusta for a research project on employment.

[2]See Figure 2.

These people have been part of a mission experience. They speak English well, but are, at the same time, contexted into traditional ways.

One important difference between the Aboriginal 'world' of Adelaide and the 'world' of Pt. Augusta is that the latter does not have sub-groups of kinspeople as large as those of Point Pearce and Point McLeay.

It is easier to speak of a 'community' in Pt. Augusta, in that the size of the population allows Aboriginal people to be visible and known to each other.

There are a number of bodies funded by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs within which Aboriginal people exert considerable authority and influence.

Aboriginal people work with Legal Aid, the Department of Health, Department of Community Welfare, Commonwealth Employment Service, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Aboriginal Housing. Aboriginal people administer Davenport reserve and the educational programmes there. They administer rehabilitation centres for alcoholics and homes for the aged. They are a band of most impressive people, successful in their jobs, visible as a group to both Aborigines and non-Aborigines.

The agencies for Aboriginal people parallel those of white society - housing, health, welfare employment, legal aid, all have Aboriginal people serving Aboriginal people. All these agencies have representation on a panel which meets regularly to decide on priorities and policy.

There is a feeling of great cohesion within the group which permits the articulation of theory, both to the Aboriginal world and the white world, and thus prevents a disintegration into factionalism.

In the Adelaide situation it is not possible to trace the same factors of cohesion and the same possibility of exercising autonomy that is found in Pt. Augusta.

The security felt by the Aboriginal people in the knowledge of their own capabilities and their awareness of the possibility of exercising autonomy was shown by the fact that, on a number of occasions, individuals expressed the view that they should be making their services available not only to Aboriginal people, but also to disadvantaged white people.

At Pt. Augusta there are 'success' stories visible to all, a source of pride to the Aboriginal people.

One of the students at the Department of Further Education, pondering on components of success, decided that

> Lois O'Donohue is successful, because she had to fight to get where she is. I have been succcessful because of the encouragement from my parents and by putting myself as an Aboriginal not a white Australian like some of the Aboriginals have done.

Fighting for survival, identifying as Aboriginal, were seen as basic to success.

Lois O'Donohue is one of a group of mature age people in Pt. Augusta, actively engaged in Aboriginal agencies, who were taken from their parents as children by missions, and educated in the white world. Later they returned to search for their families. There is a group of such people with whom young people can identify; they are 'success' stories in that they have considerable achievements to show, but they have not denied their people in doing this.

They move in and out of the white world and the Aboriginal world, acceptable in both. They are uncompromisingly Aboriginal in identification, though their life-style has no particular identials that mark them off as Aboriginal.

There are other success stories, people with a somewhat different life-history. They were young people who remained within their family context, and were sent by their parents to boarding school in the city. These are an intelligent, articulate group. It was one of these who founded the Davenport Adult Education Centre.

All of these people, whatever their origin or life-history, identify themselves with pride as Aborigines, and see themselves forming a group parallel to white society. This does not mean that their life-style necessarily differs greatly from that of the white population. What it does mean is that they see themselves in, but not of, white society.

There are others, more oriented towards white society, who admire the culture of the tradition-oriented people, respect these people, and indeed stand in awe of them. At the same time, they reject, for themselves, Aboriginal *identials*.

The view voiced by some was that, for them, Aboriginal culture, in a white world, would be 'half-a-culture'. Aboriginality for this group lies in cultivating a pride in pointing to their roots in an Aboriginal world.

Nevertheless, despite different points of view about identials of Aboriginality, and different reasons for location within the Aboriginal community, there is a sense of unity binding the different segments.

This cohesion is supported by the theorizers in the schools. An education evening held at Davenport reserve in 1980 drew participants from all groups who mingled freely and easily with each other, projecting a sense of community, whether they were reserve dwellers or city dwellers.

The model of society proposed by the Aboriginal people, a 'world' parallel to that of the white world, would seem to be valid.

Within such a group, there is the possibility of building those components outlined by Sorokin as necessary for the continuity of the group - group loyalty, leadership and autonomy, factors which perpetuate the group.

These factors will now be examined in so far as they relate to the two 'worlds' in question.

18.3 Factors of continuity

18.31 Group loyalty

Gilbert, Marshall, Vera Lovelock, Gail Lovelock and Charles Perkins (Tatz, 1975: 58-59, 61, 68-69, 130) make an important point, raised also by white writers, in that they point to factions within Aboriginal society, a problem area in itself for the building of Aboriginal identity, but important also in that it alerts the outsider to the fact that Aborigines cannot be seen as having a monolithic identity. Identity will be lived out in a particular social context, and this will change from group to group.

Newman (1973:19) has pointed out the existence of sectional groupings within minority groups in the United States of America, where fissures occur along lines such as those of religion as well as ethnic origin.

The same phenomenon of sectional groups within a minority group is evident amongst Aboriginal people.

Berger's theory (and also structural theories such as those, for example, of Gordon (1964) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963)) is inadequate in that it does not take account of the diversity of minority group goals and of the fragmentation within ethnic groups.

At first glance, it would seem that ethnic groups provide a 'world' within which identity is consolidated.

For some ethnic groups[1], the situating of the self within the group is an anchor for identity. For many Aborigines this is not

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[1]Not all ethnic groups in Australia are cohesive. There are fractures along political lines, for example, with Serbs and Croats from Yugoslavia, with different political groups from Chile; there are fractures along religions lines in the case of groups from Greece, etc., There are fractures along class lines in other instances.

possible because of factionalism within Aboriginal society. Fissures within Aboriginal society occur along a number of lines. There is factionalism between one group and another in a particular social context, between male and female groups, between those who have 'passed' and those who have always identified as Aborigines.

Chicka Dixon expresses concern about disunity and factionalism:

> If we could get the blacks together then we could move on these issues. However these small groups are a real problem, because one of these groups will go to the government and say 'We want this'. Ten minutes later another group will come along and say, 'No, we don't want that, we want this'. This creates chaos as far as the development of Aboriginal people is concerned.
>
> Another aspect of Aboriginal life which worries me is the 'passing' in Sydney. Some black might have married a white fella and wanted to live in a certain area so they try to pass for some other nationality. Now I spit on these people. Their biggest fear is their black relations who might come knocking on their door some night. I feel disgust for these people who are not proud of their ethnic origin (in Tatz, 1975:37-38).

There are splits between 'town' and 'reserve' Aborigines.

> It's a sad thing because there is a split between town and reserve: there is too much jealousy and bitterness which I don't want to be part of. The only way this situation can be solved is through the Aborigines themselves. White society can't do anymore because it is an Aboriginal problem, black against black. Black man is fighting against black, they're not really getting anywhere but they're involved in bitterness and hate (Marshall, in Tatz, ed., 1975:58).

There are splits between metropolitan Aborigines and those in country towns.

The problem is identified by Vera Lovelock (in Tatz, ed., 1975:61, 64, 65). It is elucidated still further by Gail Lovelock, who differentiates between 'Sydney blacks' and 'Armidale blacks'.

> But I'll tell you now, it's not going to be those city blacks with their shouting and screaming - I've been through all that - it's going to be the people

> in Armidale and places like Brewarrina and Moree who are starting to come up now with reasoning and rationale and politically minded ideas and who are going to win this fight for us. It is not going to be those people down there, the ones with 'paid off' jobs with the government. Michael Anderson works for the government, Chicka Dixon works for the government. They were actively involved in Aboriginal affairs until twelve months ago. You couldn't hear anyone speak but these people. Now you can see the difference: they've been taken over by the Federal and possibly the State government ... it seems to me now that I really come to know them, that they've been playing ball with the white people and the white people have been using them.for years; they've been using black men to exploit others (Lovelock, in Tatz, ed., 1975:68).

The Aborigines see themselves as divided on issues such as leadership, 'passing', being employed by 'the government', the very agency that had so humiliated them for hundreds of years.

Within Aboriginal society, factionalism must be seen as a major source of disunity in any social structuring of an Aboriginal community that attempts to embrace the smaller, but powerful, kin groups.

We have already shown that Strelley is a cohesive group, with community structures providing for the settlement of disputes. There is a flexibility that both permits different language groups to establish sub-communities within the whole, and promotes the unity of these groups into one, the Mob.

Adelaide reflects the factionalism perceived for Aborigines in general. Governmental decisions made in consultation with the group are violently attacked by telexes sent to Canberra by another group[1].

Chicka Dixon's sketching of small groups and even individuals unilaterally approaching the government remains true of Adelaide.

It is also a problem that wherever Aboriginal people exercise their autonomy in providing new initiatives, there will be factionalism between opposing groups.

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[1]Personal communication from an Aboriginal civil servant, 1982.

Natasha McNamara commented on factionalism in Adelaide as an inescapable fact of life: "...of course, they're always fighting. Aboriginal groups do" (in Gilbert, 1977:107).

Pt. Augusta has some of the characteristics of Strelley. It has a cohesiveness promoted by the Panel which unites all the agencies working for Aborigines. There is a degree of cohesiveness that is actually enhanced by factionalism, where factionalism is located between metropolitan and rural groups, just as at Strelley, group cohesiveness is enhanced by the establishment of white society as 'the enemy', and the rural sectors of New South Wales see themselves fighting for 'real' Aboriginality as distinguished from the characteristics of city 'stool pigeons'.

A dispute in Adelaide, in 1980, about an Aboriginal legal rights issue, in which Pt. Augusta Aborigines believed their views were neglected, drew a response from the rural group that in fact united them, while dissipating further the energies of the Adelaide group.

The Pt. Augusta group contacted other rural groups who converged on the city in buses, attended a meeting, argued a case coherently and with a united voice and won their point. Over and above the victory gained, the exercise had contributed to the coherence of the group.

There is not the degree of factionalism, depicted by the Lovelocks, between town and country. However, when it does occur, it serves to unite the country group.

The Davenport Adult Education Centre also acts as a point of cohesion for Pt. Augusta. Many of the adults trace a change in self-concept to the education they received there.

The racist attitudes of the townspeople also serve to provide an enemy-from-without, acting to promote cohesion within the Aboriginal group against whom prejudice is directed.

A further source of cohesion is found in the visibility of leaders.

18.32 Leadership

At Strelley, it was shown that a powerful force for theorizing in the building of community was the very presence and activity of the important men and women who are highly respected and acknowledged as dedicated leaders.

In Aboriginal society, potential leaders are likely to find themselves cut off by their own people.

Rowley comments that

> ...the objects of prejudice feel they must 'pass', deny their relatives, to be accepted as equals; and what looks like sycophancy and treachery to other Aborigines will hardly stimulate a readiness to accept such people as models (Rowley, 1971:298).

Thus Rowley sees Aboriginal people reproducing white thinking - if a person is educated, if he wishes to be accepted as equal to whites, he is a not-Aborigine. Leadership based on these perceptions is very fragile indeed.

Gilbert (1973) discusses the problem of 'leaders' employed by the Government, potential leaders whose influence is neutralised by their appointments; their status is made suspect because they enter the orbit of the white world.

There are the problems of self-appointed leaders, of lack of integrity among leaders (Gilbert, 1973).

The problems of conflict facing those in roles of leadership, whether leaders are elected, self appointed, or appointed by the government, become apparent whenever Aboriginal people in Adelaide come together.

There are some in Adelaide who stand out as leaders, their voice heard and respected by all groups, Aboriginal and white. There are others who are occasions of conflict within Aboriginal 'worlds'.

Pt. Augusta differs in that there is one recognised spokesperson[1] for Aboriginal groups, namely, the Chairman of the Panel comprising all Aboriginal organisations. There is thus a focus for group cohesion. At Pt. Augusta, as well as the spokesperson, leaders in different areas in the community are recognised by the Aboriginal people and respected both by them and by white people. The same names of leaders were offered by both the white community and the Aboriginal community during the research project, showing great unanimity in the recognition of leaders.

The greater cohesion of Pt. Augusta thus makes possible the recognition of leaders acceptable to both worlds, a further indication of the validity of the parallel nature of the model proposed by this group.

18.33 Autonomy

> *Do you see why self-determination that isn't really real is so much ratshit?* (Gilbert, 1973:178).

> *If there is to be a regeneration of blacks it must come through self-determination, however hesitant the first steps* (Gilbert, 1973:162).

> *What for you want 'self-determination'? What for, when you can't even feed or control or even wash your kids properly? The way you are, self-determination would only be a licence to bugger yourselves up some more* (Grandfather Koori, in Gilbert, 1977:302).

For most Aboriginal people interviewed in Adelaide and Pt. Augusta, self-determination was *not* 'really real', since the

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[1]The personal history of the spokesperson at the time of the study was an extraordinary one. She had been taken from her family, brought up as white, to return, married to a white man, to Pt. Augusta. She underwent a crisis of identity, and, with great support from her husband, opted for an Aboriginal identity. She later found that her mother, a full-blood Aboriginal woman was still alive, living at the Davenport reserve. Having determined to serve her people, the spokesperson suffered greatly from an initial rejection by Aborigines. She persevered until her personal commitment and dedication was recognised.

disposition of moneys always remained the prerogative of the white bureaucracy[1].

In particular, for those at Pt. Augusta who were public servants, self-determination/self-management was within the sphere prescribed by (white) policy and allocation of money. It was not 'really real'.

Nevertheless, people had interacted with the theory of self-determination to produce the motivating slogan - 'Black people have to do things for themselves. Black people have to work for black people'.

For the people of Pt. Augusta, self-determination was seen as the basis for placing responsibility on Aboriginal people to help themselves and, at a more domestic level, it was seen as the right to pursue a path towards self-improvement without cutting off ties with one's people. Self-determination was seen in a highly particularised way as having autonomy within one's own personal sphere of action.

At Pt. Augusta, evidence of the motivation of the people to gain autonomy can be found in their successful attempt to establish an independent economic base through an Aboriginal cooperative building society which competed for business on the open market.

The Davenport Adult Education Centre, which has been highly rated by a series of evaluations (e.g. Powell, 1978; Raper and Poussard, 1978; Gaskell, 1980), was, and is, the result of Aboriginal initiative and control.

In this venture, as is the case at Strelley, it is the Aboriginal people who employ white teachers, the Aboriginal people who formulate policy. In Adelaide, similar ventures into adult education during the seventies (the Aboriginal Community College and the Task Force) were inspired by white people. However, the inspiration for

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[1]It should be noted that the Schools Commission, in 1981, recommended that the National Aboriginal Education Commission be granted the right to dispense money, and have the right to set priorities. This has not yet been granted.

the setting up of a Research Centre for Aboriginal Studies at Adelaide University in 1980 came from the (Aboriginal) Director of the Aboriginal Community Centre.

Pt. Augusta Aboriginal people have shown evidence of self-determination in a number of ways. They have set up a Panel which theorizes, formulates policy, communicates policy; they have provided for adult education under their own control. They have established a business venture that not only provides for a degree of economic autonomy, but also acts to counter the mythologies about Aboriginal people and their work capabilities.

Though the degree of autonomy achieved does not match that found at Strelley, nevertheless it supports the validity of a model of Aboriginal society parallel to white society.

The group is cohesive, visible to each other and able to be quickly mobilised to meet a need.

In Adelaide, Aboriginal initiatives to gain autonomy are also evident, particularly in the activities relating to the Aboriginal Community Centre (health, welfare, legal aid) and to initiatives in education, especially in the pre-school area.

However, while autonomy is exercised in these endeavours, the problem of lack of cohesiveness prevents the attainment of autonomy as a group. The model of integration into white society accurately reflects the Adelaide situation for Aboriginal people.

A further indication of the degree of autonomy exercised by the people will be found in how the Aboriginal people are named, whether they name themselves, and locate themselves in a world of meaning, or whether they are acted upon by white society.

18.4 Naming

An indication of the lack of autonomy on the part of Aboriginal people is found in the fact that they have always been named by white society, with the result that, today, Aborigines have a problem in naming themselves.

As late as 1978, Senator Bonner made an appeal to have established a single form for the naming of his people. The plea is all the more poignant in that the naming he asked for was not in accordance with any Aboriginal tradition but in accordance with the usage of the Concise Oxford Dictionary.

Senator Bonner made the following plea to Parliament:

> In an effort to establish an Australian and international racial identity for the indigenous persons of mainland Australia and Tasmania, I ask the Ministry to refer to such people by using the words 'Aborigine' for the singular noun and 'Aborigines' for the plural noun as contained in the Concise Oxford Dictionary 1976, sixth edition, and for the word Aborigine to have a capital A. To set an example for the Style Manual, I ask the Minister to make this change from the use of the noun 'Aboriginal' so that we, the Aborigines, will not be referred to in the same manner as indigenous persons of other nations. I believe it is only in this way that the Aborigines of Australia can truly feel unique, as we are, and gain an identity of our own (Bonner, Weekly Hansard, Senate, 12/14 Oct. 1978, 14, 601).

The people at Strelley name themselves. They are the marrngu, mankind. They name those with Aboriginal ancestry, but who live in the style of Europeans, marta marta, a name which locates the latter outside tradition-oriented life.

Both the people of Adelaide and the people of Pt. Augusta have accepted the 'naming' of mainstream society.

However, while many of the people of Pt. Augusta locate themselves in traditional groups, and speak of themselves as Kokatha people, or Andmajantha people etc., the people of Adelaide locate themselves in a place, Point Pearce or Point McLeay which, in fact, is a place of white construction.

In a self-conscious effort to locate themselves in an Aboriginal world, in Adelaide Aboriginal names are used for various Aboriginal publications.

The meaning of these names must be explained to the Aboriginal people; very few have even a few words of the language of their ancestors.

Similarly, in Adelaide, the name *nunga* is coming to be used (as marrngu is used at Strelley) in an intuitive move towards an important element in securing identity, locating the self in a world of meaning.

18.5 Identials

Identity, location in society, is secured not only by naming, but by identials.

For the Strelley people, identials are contexted into the Law. The question to be asked is whether urban Aboriginal people locate themselves in a world that has any identials that are specifically Aboriginal.

The identials of life history, physical characteristics, possessions, religion, culture and employment, will now be examined.

18.51 Life-history

> *...people who live in a political and social vacuum have got no future because they have no past. If you can give these people a past you will give them a future* (Paul Coe, in Tatz, ed., 1975:107).

One's life-history is seen by Aboriginal people as a most important idential.

The life-history of the urban Aborigine does not necessarily act to help the individual locate himself in society. Many an Aboriginal person has no history. Often he has been taken away from his parents by missionaries, or by the Department of Community Welfare.

For some youth, fostered out, with records destroyed, there is no possibility of ever establishing a personal life-history. This aspect of identity is lost forever. These people do not even have the reserve to look back to.

The felt need to construct a life-history is witnessed by contemporary preoccupation with compiling genealogies which attempt to establish the identity of individual Aborigines within a group. It has been pointed out that the city Aboriginal people look on Point Pearce or Point McLeay, white constructs, as home. The tracing of genealogies, and relating these to ancient tribal lands is of very recent origin, and an indication of the reality of the search for an Aboriginal identity.

Nevertheless, the need to trace these genealogies speaks of the lack of knowledge of kin in the sense in which it exists at Strelley, where daily, again and again, the small child is taught his relationship to all those with whom he comes into contact.

On the whole, the people at Pt. Augusta are closer to their origins than the Adelaide Aboriginal people. They come into contact continuously with people who have their roots in traditional society. They are able, therefore, to relate their personal identity more easily to those who are nearer to traditional Aboriginal culture, and to see themselves as part of the history of the race.

For the Pt. Augusta people there are also those who were taken away from their parents as children but who have re-established links with their family through a personal, painful search.

Many of those interviewed had one 'full blood' parent and knew this parent. Even where people had been taken away as children from their parents, and were educated and accepted in a white world, they had later found their way back to the north, consciously and unconsciously seeking their kin. Sometimes through coincidence, sometimes after a traumatic search, they found their relatives again, and re-established contact with them.

The people are thus close enough to tribal people not to need to romanticise or mythologise about Aboriginality, or about Aboriginal culture.

The case is different at Strelley. Individuals do not merely relate to, they are a part of, the life-history of the group. They thus possess an idential which not only locates the individual within the Mob, but gives a sense of pride in the right to do so.

18.52 Body-physical characteristics

> *On the street there are the eyes, staring at black skin* (Gilbert, 1973:41).
>
> *I'd walk into a town. You walk down the street and you're black and the white man doesn't have to say a word to you. He steps around you, you're shit, you're nothing. And they cut you down with this sort of concept and you get that way, you feel it, you feel inferior* (Chicka Dixon, in Tatz, ed., 1975:49).

The physical characteristic of skin colour has been made, for Australian Aborigines, a source of shame.

In a society where assimilation is the aim, lightness of skin gives the possibility of denial of Aboriginal identity, 'passing' becomes a possibility, and shades of blackness become important[1].

However, shame about skin colour becomes irrelevant when there is pride in Aboriginality, and the word 'blacks', once a derogatory epithet, becomes a name, a symbol of cohesion. The idential of skin colouring can thus become a source of unity.

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[1]Fink relates that, in a town which she studied, among the 'Upper group' of Aboriginal people there was a constant pre-occupation with the theme of colour. "When babies are born, the women all go to the hospital to see the colour of the child ... To the white people of Barwon the coloured people are all the same. They do not distinguish between Upper and Lower groups; they still class them all as blacks" (Fink, 1957:105).

There is evidence that this is happening, both in Adelaide and Pt. Augusta.

However, the difference must be noted between these two places and Strelley. In the case of the latter, skin colour is a 'given' neither a source of pride or shame. In the urban situation, skin colour is a problem to be resolved.

18.53 Possessions

The urban Aborigine, like the white man, has no 'guruwari'.

The loss of his connection with the land is related to a loss of identity.

The Aborigine begs for land as his possession:

> One of the first things in identity is recognising their right to land, their identity as human beings, giving them status through land and allowing them to own something (Gilbert, in Tatz, ed., 1975:9).

At Poonindie, in South Australia, Aboriginal people farmed with great success (Jenkin, 1979:65-66). They, together with the Point Pearce people and Point McLeay people, despite being able to point to their achievements in farming operations, were denied the right to own land (Jenkin, 1979:266ff.).

This policy of refusing Aborigines free-hold title to lands they have farmed has continued to the present day, when successful farmers ask for title deeds to their land, still withheld from them.

In Queensland (*The Australian*, 18.10.82) the Minister for Commerce announced that Aborigines could not get freehold title to land because the Government believed they could not handle money or business transactions.

The possession of land which people request, in these examples, has the same significance as it does for white people. Hence, it is equated with identity as a human being.

However, there is a much deeper connection with the land seldom understood by white people, found in the particular identification of the Aborigine with the land and with sacred places.

Land is not merely a possession, an idential securing identity. It is a component of identity itself. People at Strelley define identity: "That's my country where all my kinsfolk sit down. That's identity".

The connection of tradition-oriented people with the land has been lost by urban people along with the Law and the education into the Law that together form part of the complex, integrated whole at Strelley.

Claims being made currently (1982) for tribal land at Pt. Augusta by non-traditional people must be seen, not as rooted in ownership of the land and identity contexted into the land, but as a construction of identity that seeks to adapt the traditional reality to the urban Aborigines, a further indication of the parallel nature of the model of the world the Aboriginal people see evolving.

For the metropolitan urban people of Adelaide, the claim to land, identity with the land, is a vicarious experience. The people join in Land Rights marches, Land Rights demonstrations on behalf of others for whom this is a reality.

18.54 Religion

The religion of traditional Aboriginal people has been lost by urban people.

Early missionary activity nihilated the Law.

Current missionary activity, in the form of fundamentalist Christian movements, furthers this process.

The fundamentalist missionaries in the eighties are achieving a spectacular wave of conversions in the city, at Pt. Augusta and

even in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, adjacent to the Strelley Mob.

The theorizing of the missionaries is that, since, for the Christian, 'his true home is in heaven', no Christian should be involved in Aboriginal Land Rights movements. Those churches which uphold Aboriginal claims are branded as communist by these movements.

Thus, this particular version of Christianity continues to separate Aboriginal people from their identity with the land[1].

A fundamental difference between Strelley and the urban people lies in the securing, by the former, of their identity within a religious systematization of reality, that is, within the Law, which then provides for them a cohesive world view. For urban people, religion is likely to separate them even further from traditional Aboriginal belief and from a traditional Aboriginal identification with land.

Erikson (1977:225) points out that faith - religious faith or faith in a person, is an essential component in identity formation. An element common to all the 'reality definers' interviewed was their insistence on the role of personal faith in giving them direction in their lives and a strong sense of identity.

Unlike the people at Strelley, none of the urban people saw the actions of missionaries of the first half of this century as a bad thing. The people at Pt. Augusta in particular saw the activity of missionaries as an intervention by God in the lives of individuals at a particular point in history. This intervention resulted in an education which later permitted the people to contribute to the well-being of other Aborigines. They saw religious faith providing them with two things: a coherent view of life and a personal

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[1]A generalization cannot be made from this to all religious efforts. Religious people, other than fundamentalist groups are at the forefront of Land Rights movements and are careful NOT to proselytize. The result is that religious conversions are to fundamentalist sects, which destroy links with the Law and the land.

faith that was seen as a force strengthening the individual in meeting the traumas inherent in seeking identity, and in countering prejudice[1].

All expressed a conviction of the need for this personal faith. At Pt. Augusta, some people close to tribal people saw no conflict between Christian faith and traditional religion. One of the few initiated men in the area who was still occupied with tribal 'business', was also a strong follower of Christianity. For him, there was no conflict. This was a view heard repeatedly.

Some younger people, laid no claim to a religious faith; however, they recounted stories showing the importance to them of the faith they had in some particular person who influenced their lives[2].

Affiliation to fundamentalist religious sects acted both in Adelaide and more particularly in Pt. Augusta, to produce an idential that separated the people from the negative identity that accompanies alcoholism.

One group of those who 'drink too much' could be categorised as drinking because this was a white practice they had been denied.

Many Aborigines related how they drank heavily as soon as repressive legislation controlling the sale of liquor was lifted, because it showed they were as good as whites. It proved they were 'human'.

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[1] However, many of these same people were uneasy about the activities of the fundamentalist groups now active in the area.

[2] One young man recounted how, as a child, he did not get on with his mother. He ran away and was taken in by an eccentric, old (white) man who became a father figure to him. The young boy continued to go home to eat from time to time. The elderly man was, however, a continuing influence in his life. It is possible to see here a trace of the custom of uncles bringing up boys in the traditional Aboriginal situation.

This group of people have shown themselves able to turn away from alcohol overnight, once they are 'converted'.

Other Aborigines, however, not of the fundamentalist persuasion, believed that this group got 'hooked on religion' in the same way as they had been 'hooked on alcohol'. They had exchanged one addiction for another.

Alcohol and religion may be seen as identials in securing a particular identity, the former into an identity that is negative, but 'human'.

Both alcohol and 'religion' are identials that distance the person from a traditional world of meaning.

However, the seeking of identity as a 'human being' does not take the people into a white world; the fundamentalist church groups are for black people, not white. They are a further element in the building of a parallel society.

18.55 Employment as an idential

There is massive unemployment among Aboriginal people documented by the reports quoted in Chapter V and at the beginning of this chapter. There has long been hostility among Aborigines because jobs have been given to migrants, rather than to Aborigines.

Gale (1972:220) points out that, because of past deprivation many Aborigines are virtually unemployable, and many others are seriously handicapped by a lack of education and training.

Gale and Wundersitz show that only 16.3 per cent of the Aboriginal adults in their study were employed in 1980 compared with 54.8 per cent of the total adult population resident in Adelaide at that time (Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:142).

Their study of the Elizabeth/Salisbury area in 1981 found marginally more households containing employed persons, and fewer depending on social security benefits, than did the main survey (ibid:146).

At Pt. Augusta employment figures in 1978 showed that, of those employed, 48 per cent were employed in 'closed' positions.

These 'closed' positions are found in government and government-type institutions.

The seventies and eighties brought employment in government agencies for Aboriginal people, even for those with a relatively low standard of education. However, the lack of educated Aboriginal people meant that the government agencies creamed off students from their first year of tertiary education to fill posts. Potential leaders were thus lost, since they did not go on to finish their course and obtain recognised qualifications.

Furthermore, the jobs thus secured had little promotional prospects.

Teacher aides, appointed because they were Aboriginal, are frustrated by their lack of status and their lack of opportunity for promotion.

Such employment resembles somewhat that of handicapped people in a closed workshop situation.

The Aboriginal people, though employed, understandably fret under this situation, and employment does not necessarily serve as a positive idential.

At Strelley, schooling, education and employment form a unified whole. They are all directed to the good of the individual and the good of the whole; there is a job for everyone and each person's job is seen as contributing to the total plan.

Ambition on the part of Aboriginal people in the urban situation means that employment will separate the individual from Aboriginal society even when it is within an agency serving Aboriginal people, since taking employment with the government is seen as becoming part of the white world.

This is less so in Pt. Augusta, where the cohesion of the group means that people, even in government agencies, are seen as 'working for Aborigines', rather than working for the government. There is a stronger feeling in Pt. Augusta that Aboriginal people are the 'boss' - that they exercise a degree of autonomy over their lives.

18.56 Culture as an idential

> *We are losin' all our identity, our culture, you know? Just fadin' out all the time. A lot of our young people don't want to be part of it, or learn it. The more we lose, the more it is destroyin' us* (Horry Saunders, in Gilbert, 1977:33).

As a member of a confused people, (and the word confusion or confused is used by almost every one of the nineteen speakers recorded in Tatz), Vera Lovelock asserts that,

> Half the time you've got to hang on to something and that something is being Aboriginal. It is half the battle to hang on to just that. But we're not going to be able to hang on much longer if something doesn't happen soon (Tatz, 1975:71).

The problem is that in the urban situation no-one can agree on what 'being Aboriginal' means, what it is that people must 'hang on to'.

In order to build up a sense of community, Aborigines project theories about their own lost culture. Many urban dwellers have to learn about the culture of their ancestors exactly as white people do. They idealize 'Aboriginal culture' in the same way that many sociologists have done in searching for community and extolling the virtues of primitive communities.

'Reality definers' from Aboriginal society profess to know things that are 'secret'.

Preliminary interviews with Aboriginal people revealed a need for some of them to establish links with tradition-oriented people. One of the male teacher-aides commented à propos of discussions

with one of the 'important women' in the city, that Auntie Olga (and he) would not reveal 'secrets'. The discussions in fact never bore upon the secret/sacred, nor is it likely that Auntie Olga had secret/sacred knowledge. But the claim to such knowledge was seen as important to the man as a source of his identity.

Moreover, such 'theorizing' is important in that the Aborigine interacts with his theory and provides himself with a cultural identity.

> I'm only a labourer and that is all I'm going to be. I'm a spokesman for Aboriginal people because in my field, which is the Aboriginal field, I am a leader of a tribe. Once upon a time there were 10,000 in the tribe, today there are 7,000 but we are building up (Colbung, in Tatz, 1975:28).

Factually, this statement cannot be supported. However, when there is interaction between the self with such theorizing, and interaction between a group of others with this theorizing, then it can produce a reality, and provide a basis for action.

In the instance quoted, one of the actions is the establishment of an independent school, an exciting project involving a multi-racial school, where Aboriginal culture can be studied by both urban Aborigines and white Australians, and other racial groups (for example Maoris) can have their culture recognized.

Theorizing about Aboriginal culture, in a positive manner, has within it the possibility of providing a springboard to theorizing about the construction of a positive, alternative identity.

It is not necessary to appropriate elements of traditional culture for this to happen. Both learning 'about' culture, as well as 'learning culture' in Saunders' words, quoted at the beginning of this section, may find issue in positive theorizing about identity.

If Aboriginal people in Adelaide look for identials pertaining to culture, it will be a 'culture' constructed for urban Aborigines

from the traditional culture that is mediated to them, mostly by white people, and adapted to various Aboriginal social contexts. Jenkins' (1979) book, Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri, has been a resource for people from Point McLeay in structuring a 'culture'.

For Strelley, the culture is contexted into the unwritten Law. Adaptations, made of necessity to meet new situations, are made by the decisions of the group. The culture is mediated by tradition, from one generation to another.

At Pt. Augusta, Aboriginal culture is encountered both in the lives of the traditional people and in a mediated form. In the schools, even in the mediated form, Aboriginal studies are taught by Aboriginal people, not by white people, an important difference from the situation in Adelaide in the social construction of a 'culture'.

The survey of identials suggest that there are clear indications of the reality of the models of Aboriginal society offered, that the Strelley model does have quite different characteristics from that at Pt. Augusta, which again differs from that of Adelaide.

There is a greater group coherence of Aboriginal people at Pt. Augusta, a greater recognition by white society of the people as a group parallel to white society.

The question now to be asked is whether the 'worlds' of schooling may be seen to reflect the 'worlds' of the wider society. The 'worlds' of institutions studied will now be examined.

CHAPTER XIX

THE 'WORLDS' OF THE INSTITUTIONS STUDIED: PT. AUGUSTA AND ADELAIDE

19.1 Port Augusta High School

Schools at Port Augusta are zoned. The Aboriginal enrolment of Port Augusta High School is composed of Aborigines from different social class backgrounds, as well as different tribal affiliations.

The backlash against Aborigines, noted by school personnel in the seventies, following grants for Aborigines for secondary education and positive discrimination for employment of apprentices, caused great tension in the town.

In 1978 (that is, about ten years after the admission of Aborigines to the State school system), there had been a problem of violence amongst Aborigines in the school.

Different groups theorized differently about how the problem in the school came to be solved.

According to the Principal of the High School, the problems had a tribal base and had been solved by action of the 'important men' (that is initiated men) declaring that violence was not to take place in the school precincts.

Aboriginal teacher liaison personnel, on the other hand, attributed the changes in the school to the employment of Aboriginal adults in

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[1]The Principal related how he had become impatient with an excuse offered for absenteeism. A student said he had been absent because his father had been very sick. The Principal did not believe this, and, on impulse, told the child he would go and see for himself The father was sick. It eventuated that he was an 'important man' and interpreted the fact that the Principal came to see him, rather than sending the counsellor, as a recognition of this fact. On learning of the problems at the school, the Aboriginal man decreed that violence was not to take place in the school precincts.

The Principal held that violence ceased from that time.

the school situation, the consultation carried out with them, and the responsibility given to them following the 'troubles of '78'.

Gaskell (1980:18) supported this view, seeing a major input coming from ex-students of the Davenport Aboriginal Training Centre (many of them teacher-aides) who were the main speakers at a conference designed to help local teachers understand Aboriginal children.

Everyone attributed a different cause to a new reality underlying typifications.

Whatever the cause, the possibility of theorizing positively about the 'world' of the school was established, as well as the possibility of Aboriginal personnel theorizing positively about their roles and their capabilities.

In general, the school situation was perceived as one of great hope. There was a feeling both on the part of staff and parents that good things were being accomplished after the problems of the late seventies; parents felt that school personnel were doing all in their power to solve problems facing Aboriginal students. Aboriginal parents felt able to interact with the school and noted with approval the efforts made by school personnel. School personnel, in their turn, noted with approval the increased interaction of parents.

Aboriginal studies was introduced as a unit in curriculum studies, taught by Aboriginal people. It was located in a special room and was a source of pride. There was Aboriginal control of the Aboriginal studies curriculum, in that material was vetted by 'important men', just as it was at Strelley[1]. This can be seen as a recognition by the white staff of an Aboriginal world of meaning, a recognition that was also an acknowledgement of a specifically Aboriginal identity at Port Augusta.

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[1]Films about Aboriginal culture shown at Davenport reserve had first to be vetted by the 'important men' before they could be shown.

The school appointed one counsellor specifically for Aboriginal students. There was an energetic effort aimed at isolating 'problems', visiting parents, and providing special programmes to meet the needs of Aboriginal children.

One group of students, not all Aborigines, was placed in a 'special class' under the care of the counsellor allocated to Aborigines. The children in this 'special class' came from disorganized homes, were often truants, and were distinguished by their low degree of motivation. Problems of delinquency could often be traced to members of this class.

An inspection of the numbers of Aboriginal children coming before the Children's Court[1], prepared by the Aboriginal Legal Aid service, did not seem to bear out the perceptions of the Adelaide Aboriginal people of an abnormally high rate of 'Aboriginal' crime, especially as the numbers given at Port Augusta were in some cases inflated by the presence of family groups committing any one particular 'crime'.

The stereotype is that Aborigines in general are 'often in trouble with the law'.

However, the stabilising effects of the schools can be seen in the fact that delinquencies that came to court notice, on the whole, happened in school holidays, and came up before the courts in February and March[2].

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[1] See p. 1 above.

TABLE 4*

[2] Table showing number of appearances of Aboriginal children before the Children's Court, Port Augusta, 1979-1980.

MONTH	YEAR	TOTAL	: :	YEAR	TOTAL	
January 1-31	1979	3	:	1980	3	
February 1-28		14	: :		10	
March 1-31		9	: :		2	
April 1-30		4	: :		3	
May 1-31		1	: :		2	
June 1-30		5	: :		0	
July 1-31		1	: :		3	
August 1-31		2	: :		1	
September 1-30		1	: :		2	
October 1-31		1	: :		2	
November 1-30		2	: :		-	not available
December 1-31		0	: :		-	not available
	TOTAL	43			28	

*Figures provided by the Aboriginal Legal Aid Service, Pt. Augusta.

The support given to the Aboriginal community by the school was also illustrated by the positive theorizing of school staff and their willingness to be involved in Aboriginal gatherings.

White staff attended gatherings of Aboriginal people at the Davenport reserve; they joined in processions marking National Aboriginal Day, thus giving visible support to the structuring of an Aboriginal identity.

The 'world' of the school was seen by parents and staff as supportive of Aboriginal students; it was thus at odds with the wider racist 'world' of the town itself.

In general, it could be expected that the school world would reflect, or ought to reflect, the 'real life' of the wider society.

It is argued here, however, that policies have been stimulated in the schools aimed, in the case of Aborigines, at constructing a 'world' within the school situation that differs from that of the wider society.

It is further argued that the impetus for this has come from School Commission policy which, as has been shown, goes beyond government policy in supporting multi-structures for Aboriginal people. Above all, it provides incentives to implement policy by making grants available for this purpose.

19.2 Augusta Park High School

Aboriginal students at Augusta Park High School share some of the same elements of the 'world' of Port Augusta High, but with a different emphasis. Augusta Park is a relatively newly established suburb of Port Augusta. At the time of the study, school areas were zoned to keep the numbers at each school approximately the same.

There was Aboriginal housing in the area providing a choice for those Aboriginal people who wished to opt out of central Port Augusta housing areas and out of established kinship groupings.

It is likely, then, that Aboriginal people moving into this area are oriented to a white world[1].

There were proportionately less Aboriginal students at Augusta Park than at Port Augusta High[2] and the Aboriginal enrolment was less visible.

In one interview with the school principal, the latter noted that at times there was some victimisation of Aboriginal groups. However, this did not loom large as a continuing problem.

The Aboriginal students in the school were seen to be well adjusted and not needing particular help. The school concern was with facilitating the structuring and maintaining of Aboriginal identity; social problems of Aboriginal students were not seen as differing from those of other students.

The policy of the school differed in some respects from that of Port Augusta High, in that Aborigines were seen as more integrated into the school 'world'.

The school's policy was to provide a stable, caring, supportive environment for everyone. The staff cultivated an awareness of the needs of Aboriginal students, but the situation of the latter was perceived as more homogeneous than that of Port Augusta High and not needing the same programmes to meet the needs of their students.

Nevertheless, the fact that students were treated as part of the total situation did not mean that their Aboriginal identity was not recognised.

The school noted a strong movement on the part of the Aboriginal community of Port Augusta to structure an Aboriginal identity. It

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[1]See p. 324 below.

[2]See p. 60, above.

supported moves to ensure that Aboriginal culture was not lost, but was brought to people's understanding by those who still knew about it, 'practising Aborigines'.

The Principal compared the process of identity-structuring to that of a family couple going through the ruins of a burnt out house, picking out those things they have treasured in the past because they are the things that are part of their identity.

The school recognised the fact that people from tribal backgrounds exercise an influence, in various ways, over Aboriginal groups. In doing this, the school legitimated the psychological model of an Aboriginal world differing from the white world.

Aboriginal people were brought into the school to teach an Aboriginal language and to give an input into history and social sciences in order to link the curriculum with the culture, and to provide positive experiences for the structuring of Aboriginal identity.

It is important to note that Aboriginal elders from the area had resented the introduction of Aboriginal language into the curriculum, reasoning that language could not be separated from the culture and that the secret/sacred elements of the culture could possibly be abused in some way, for example, by inadvertently making 'male' knowledge available to females.

The model of identity supported by the school was a positive identity coming from models offered by Aboriginal people themselves. The tradition-oriented Aborigine and his culture was made real to Aboriginal children and to white children as well.

Aboriginality was not a reified notion - a manifestation of Aboriginality having deep roots into the past was presented to the students at Augusta Park to observe at first hand, by the introduction into the school of tradition-oriented men. Aboriginal

teachers who have learned their Aboriginality at second hand (in the Torrens A.T.E.P. programme for example[1]) were seen as white by the people who used traditional people as their basis of comparison. That is, the people of Augusta Park, and of Port Augusta in general, supported their model of Aboriginal society (parallel to white society) by noting a 'mediated' Aboriginality for those who had moved away from tribal connections.

The 'worlds' of both Port Augusta High and Augusta Park reflected a theorizing about the construction and maintenance of Aboriginal identity in which the Aboriginal universe of meaning was not nihilated. On the contrary, every effort was made to recognise the culture of the tradition-oriented people and the importance of the Law, and to present this positively to all students.

There was no evidence of a movement towards therapy, towards an integration into white society that demanded also a relinquishing of Aboriginal attributes. The model of a parallel Aboriginal society was accepted as 'real' both by Aborigines and non-Aborigines.

Augusta Park theorizing differed from that of Augusta High in that there was an unwillingness to theorize about 'problems' as specifically Aboriginal. The theorizing was that students were all 'equal'[2] but some students had an Aboriginal identity. The structuring and maintenance of this identity was held to be an important aim in school policy and practice, with the proviso that care must be taken not to initiate practice which would rekindle the racist backlash of the late seventies.

Clearly, this school, too, saw itself espousing policy at variance with the attitudes of the wider white society.

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[1] See p. 66 above.

[2] This theorizing could be seen as based in the 'reality' that the students at Augusta Park came from families not differing greatly in economic background and aspirations from white families who were their neighbours. Port Augusta High had students from a wider range of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.

19.3 Taperoo High School

The Taperoo/Port Adelaide area is one which has traditionally had large groupings of Aborigines (Gale 1972:103; Gale, and Wundersitz, 1982:12ff.) As in the case of Augusta Park, there was a concern to avoid the backlash that was seen to take place in city areas in the late seventies. As programmes of positive discrimination for Aborigines were initiated, whites came to resent money and opportunities being given to Aborigines when some whites saw themselves suffering under many of the same disadvantages, but without the same access to support systems.

The philosophy of the school was directed towards establishing identity-building programmes for Aboriginal people without incurring adverse reaction from the white population.

At Taperoo, a staff counsellor was appointed initially for Aboriginal students; his role was later widened to include care for all students experiencing academic or social problems.

The school decided to shift its primary emphasis for the work of the counsellor from one of dealing with problem cases to one of promoting success and achievement for all students, including Aboriginal students. Their aim was thus to promote success rather than to counter problems.

A programme aimed at structuring Aboriginal identity was formulated, using a special grant for this purpose. Students (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) with certain skills, (for example, in art, writing, photography, taping), were formed into a group to go to the territory of a Flinders Ranges Aboriginal tribal group and

study the culture of the Adnjamathana people[1].

Aboriginal culture was to be studied in situ. The interaction of the Aborigine with his tribal land was to be studied by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students.

The project was judged to be highly successful, with the whole group gaining an appreciation of Aboriginal history and culture; the Aboriginal students were able to relate themselves, with pride, to the culture studied[2].

A group of teachers later went to the same area to study Aboriginal culture, underlining the school policy that Aboriginal studies was not to be introduced as a specific subject in the curriculum, but integrated into existing subjects taught by specialist teachers.

The problem of employment was a considerable one for both Aborigines and non-Aborigines in the depressed areas in which the school is located[3].

A four year work experience programme for all students required individuals to make their own appointments and arrange interviews with firms willing to take students, as a means of building up confidence in job seeking. Employment often resulted from a satisfactory work experience.

Male Aborigines were seen by the school to suffer from not entering into the scheme, and not having a personal pattern of

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[1]See Figure 2. The Adnjamathana people come from Nepabunna.

[2]The Aboriginal students at Taperoo do not come from this region. Their families come from Point McLeay and Point Pearce missions, see p. 286.

[3]See reference to Gale and Wundersitz' findings, p. 286 above.

work experience or a model of male work experience[1], so that they did not benefit from the links built up between the school and the work situation.

In none of the programmes were Aboriginal students taken out of the total school situation. School policy was directed to breaking down large impersonal situations and providing a milieu wherein student-teacher interaction would be more personal for all students. Teachers liaised with primary schools to ease problems of transfer. Students with academic and social problems were identified and helped. Aboriginal parents and community leaders were consulted when programmes were undertaken which included Aboriginal students, and which might have special implications for Aborigines. What these implications might be was seen less clearly than at Port Augusta. Rather, there was a generalised feeling that 'parents should be consulted'.

The emphasis of the school was :

* to integrate the Aboriginal children into the school situation
* to encourage pride in Aboriginal origins
* to involve all teachers in Aboriginal studies programmes
* to encourage the students (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) to develop particular strengths
* to take effective measures to meet the needs of those with problems, whether Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal
* to consult with the Aboriginal community

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[1]See Gale and Wundersitz (1982:140ff.). Not only is there a problem of unemployment in this location, but there are proportionately less male figures than in the population at large (ibid:35), and even fewer Aboriginal male figures.

Of those women with partners, 53.7 per cent had a non-Aboriginal partner (ibid:51). Young Aboriginal males do not have models with whom they can identify.

19.4 Salisbury North High School

This school is set in a low socio-economic area; it is characterised by low cost housing and multiple problem families. There is a high percentage of deserted wives (settled there because of low-cost housing), single parent families, and migrant families, many of them English, often suffering a sense of dislocation resulting from their leaving home and families in England. One feeder area for the school is settled by market gardeners, mostly recent migrants.

Unemployment is high. Juvenile delinquency of a minor nature is common. Adult delinquency is common. The Principal made the observation that the court lists, particularly those connected with growing marijuana, "read like the school roll".

Information received from the Principal of Taperoo High indicated that Aboriginal families moved to Salisbury North in order to move away from relatives in more established areas, who were seen as demanding and disruptive[1].

The philosophy of the school was consonant with this legitimation of Aborigines moving into the area. A strong assimilationist line was pursued. It was the school policy that all children, from whatever ethnic background, were to be regarded as Australian.

In line with this philosophy, Aborigines were not separated out for treatment or comment. The Principal and staff were unsure of the numbers of Aborigines in the school (this was in marked contrast to Taperoo and Port Augusta). Neither Principal, nor staff was able to furnish information, for example, about whether the Aborigines in the school were from the Point Pearce or Point McLeay groups or were from the north.

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[1]Gale and Wundersitz (1982:100) assert that "spatial distance from other members of the same regional group may be used as a measure of the integration or separation of Aborigines from the majority community".

This cannot be attributed to lack of interest. It was the result of considered policy. The Principal held the view that it was the adults who wished to maintain ethnic cultural attachments - the students, Aboriginal or migrant, in his view, wished to be 'Australian'. The aims of the school for *all* ethnic groups was therapeutic in intent.

The philosophy of the school was to locate the school within the wider community. This philosophy was borne out consistently in practice; school rules, for example, were the 'rules' of conduct perceived to be those obtaining in the wider community.

An Aboriginal teacher-aide appointed to the school was allotted work in the book-room, rather than working with Aboriginal students as was the case in most other schools. This was consistent with the policy of the school not to separate out Aborigines.

A further rationale behind this appointment was that the Aboriginal children would see the aide as a member of staff and identify with her as a successful person, rather than seek her help in 'Aboriginal' problems.

While it was possible to identify students as Aboriginal through Aboriginal secondary grants schemes, classroom teachers were not necessarily aware that they had Aboriginal students in their classes. The policy of not adverting to, and much less encouraging, cultural differences and a highlighting of ethnic origins caused a problem in carrying out the present research project.

As part of the process of administering Schedules I and II, class teachers who knew the students well had been asked to collect the material as each student finished, and abstract from the total group, the responses of Aboriginal children. The aim of this procedure was to avoid publicly identifying students as Aborigines

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[1]Public identification of Aboriginal students was contrary to policy in all the schools except Port Augusta High School, where the students were a visible, easily identifiable group.

and to avoid emphasis being placed on the fact that the research was directed towards the Aboriginal group.

Only four response sheets out of a possible five from the sample were attributed to Aborigines, by teachers collecting them, reducing the already small numbers and making the Aboriginal sample at Salisbury North too small to be taken into account in comparative analyses.

While this was disappointing, it was nevertheless totally consistent with the sub-universe of meaning of Taperoo, and pointed up the reality of the connection between theory and practice in the school.

19.5 Summary - High Schools

Theorizing about Aboriginal identity was not an issue at Salisbury North High School, given the philosophy of the school. At Taperoo, the theorizing about Aboriginal identity was articulated by the staff to themselves, a theorizing not communicated to students. Aboriginality was reified in that the culture of the people was seen as an object for study. The real purpose of students going to the Flinders Ranges was not immediately apparent to the students, who were chosen for the school excursion on the basis of skills.

Both these situations reflected the appropriateness of the model proposed (Figure 3)[1]. The Aboriginal people were seen as integrated into white society. The Salisbury North model reflected the fact that some people sought to be assimilated by moving out of kinship contact. The Taperoo model reflected the integration of Aborigines into white society. The school did not experience within its 'world' the problems of factionalism between the two major 'reserve' groups found in the wider society.

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[1]See p. 72.

At Augusta Park, the choice of housing indicated a distancing from the 'world' of Aborigines who belonged to a lower socio-economic class, just as the choice to move to Salisbury North achieved the same end.

At Port Augusta High School the world of 'practising' Aborigines was a taken-for-granted reality. The world of tradition-oriented Aborigines was given credibility not only by the learning about a culture, but by attributing power to the members of this culture, and recognizing the autonomy of the community in Aboriginal affairs, a recognition given by non-Aboriginal people, as well as Aboriginal people.

The world of Aboriginality was legitimated by the white school world. The psychological model was not sufficiently powerful to draw back young acculturated Aborigines to tribal life, but it did operate to produce theorizing on their part about the possibility of initiation, and to arouse real fear among those relatively newly established in Port Augusta, of tribal men coming down from the north, the red men[1], either to punish wrong-doing or to take off young men for education and initiation.

The theorizing of the schools was seen to have evolved following upon the theorizing of the Schools Commission about Aboriginal students, and the availability of grants for personnel and programmes coming from the Commonwealth Government, made possible by the advice of the Schools Commission.

Three of the schools, Port Augusta High, Augusta Park and Taperoo, were judged to 'theorize' about Aborigines in ways that went counter to the theorizing of the dominant group in society, despite the fact that the schools were acutely aware of the possibility of a white backlash.

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[1]The 'red-men', Aboriginal men wearing red head-bands, are initiated men.

Nevertheless, the schools, with the exception of Salisbury North, theorized about the construction of Aboriginal identity as the prime purpose of their programmes.

The fourth school, Salisbury North, reflected in its theorizing the fact that the opting for a physical location away from kin, was also an opting for a different Aboriginal identity.

The validity of the models constructed (Figure 3), and hence the possibility of an Aboriginal identity being offered at Port Augusta, different from that offered in the urban area of Adelaide, was accepted by all those interviewed, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal.

19.6 Post-secondary institutions

19.61 The Task Force[1]

The Task Force was set up at the South Australian Institute of Technology in 1973 to provide access for Aborigines to post-secondary studies. Students attend normal classes with other students but are supported within an enclave system whereby facilities are provided for Aboriginal students. A common room, study facilities and tutoring are provided. Students are attracted from all parts of Australia.

The approach adopted by the Director is opposed to that of the 'do-gooder', the 'bleeding heart' approach as it is called in Port Augusta[2]. There is no watering down of courses, but support is given to meet individual academic needs, with the group providing for its own psychological needs.

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[1]See p. 61, Pt. I, above, for an account of the founding of this programme.

[2]An 'ethnic' Australian headmistress of a suburban primary school, in a depressed area not connected with the study, exclaimed after her first few weeks as headmistress how glad she was that she had not been born an Aborigine or born poor and been forced to suffer from the ministrations of all those approaching the school wanting to 'do good'.

The Aboriginal group is made visible by the facilities offered. The age of intake has a wide spread. Therefore these students represent a group differing from the secondary school group in that, as children and teenagers, they lived under the repressive pre-1967 laws, and their aftermath, and would have felt in their own lives the rejection documented by Aboriginal writers of their own age, speaking to student teachers in Armidale, found in Tatz' (1975) book The Aboriginal Experience[1].

19.62 Stone's Business College

Following preliminary investigation of numbers of Aboriginal students, it had been inferred (wrongly), from the comparatively large numbers of Aboriginal people in attendance at Stone's Business College, that special provisions were made for Aboriginal people.

This was not so. In many ways the policy was similar to that of Salisbury North High School.

Stone's Business College was an institution where the policy was to treat all students alike (and sympathetically), but to make no special provision for Aboriginal students. There was a mixture of a brisk, business-like approach on the part of the director, allied to a personal interest in the progress of each student. There was a policy of helping find employment for each student as she attained sufficient skills, whether the student was Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. The high enrolments of Aboriginal people was attributed to the fact that individuals who had completed the course and obtained a position referred other Aboriginal

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[1]Excerpts from this book have been quoted extensively throughout this work.

students to the college. Aboriginal students were not separated out as a group, but could be identified as Aborigines from enrolment lists because of the fact that they were funded under the Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme.

Students were 'chosen', by the director, to be part of the research project. Some students 'chosen' in this way seemed unaware of the Aboriginal origins of some of the others in the group. A number of students had no Aboriginal physical characteristics - several had (natural) blonde hair and fair skin.

Though the age group of these students was also post-secondary, as in the case of S.A.I.T. students, for most their orientation was quite different. They formed part of a group of students, many of whom could have 'passed' into the white world, and indeed some of whom had 'passed'.

They thus presented a group, located in a 'world' differing from that of the institutions already described.

19.7 Comparison of the 'worlds' of the institutions to be studied

A comparison of the different realities of the institutions is set out in Table 5 (see following page).

Table 5

Comparison of the 'worlds' of the institutions studied

Post Secondary

Location of Aborigines In society	Pt. Augusta High Parallel society	Augusta Park Parallel society/ integrated	Taperoo Integrated/ assimilated	Salisbury North Assimilated	SAIT Enclave group	Stone's Assimilated
Aboriginal Studies in Curriculum	Aboriginal Studies special topic. Language special topic.	Aboriginal studies integrated into curriculum	Input by white teachers into integrated curriculum.	No programme	Arranged seminars	No programmes
Staffing for Aboriginal programme	Special counsellor for Aboriginal students. Aboriginal school-home liaison person. Aboriginal teacher aides. Aboriginal groundsman.	No special counsellor for Aboriginal students. Aboriginal home-school liaison person. Aboriginal girl working in office.	Counsellor for all students	Counsellor for all students	Tutors for Aboriginal students	No special staffing
Definition of concern for Aboriginal identity	Aboriginal identity taken for granted. 'Aboriginal' problems, social and academic identified for action.	Concern for identity. Aboriginal students seen as integrated	Emphasis on strengths for all students. Special concern for Aboriginal identity.	Concern for all as Australian citizens	Promotion of Aboriginal identity by enclave system	No special promotion of Aboriginal identity as such
Concern for employment	Aboriginal students in two groups. Special class problem with employment. Acculturated group opportunities for 'closed' employment.	Aboriginal students not seen as having special problems. Employment in 'closed' situations.	Problem for all students. Aboriginal students greater problem.	Problem for all students. Aboriginal students more chance of employment helped by special agencies	Employment assured in 'closed' positions.	Active efforts made to obtain employment for all students. Some employment in 'open' positions.
Concern for delinquency	Delinquency a problem in the 'special class' (low achievers, disorganised families) and in dropouts. Local statistics show high incidence of delinquency only in school vacation.	No special incidence of delinquency seen on part of Aboriginal children.	Population in general seen as having problems with delinquency. Delinquency common among unemployed school leavers.	Population in general, both school age and adult seen as having high incidence of delinquency.	N/A	N/A

We turn now to exploring the 'real world' of the students in the institutions to be studied. Four separate concerns will be addressed.

All are concerned with examining the interaction between social structures and worlds of meaning and interaction between the self and the psychological models articulated through the formation of social structures.

The first area to be explored concerns that of typifications.

The questions to be asked are, what are the typifications of Aborigines in the schools? Are they typified negatively in accordance with the negative stereotypes found in pre-1967 policies and literature? Or are Aboriginal people stereotyped positively in accordance with positive, contemporary legislation and the positive theorizing that is found at the school level by reality definers?

Have earlier typifications been sedimented? Have Aborigines themselves institutionalized negative typifications by internalizing them?

These questions will be addressed in Chapters XX and XXI.

It has been posited that identity is formed through an interaction between social structures and the world of meaning, and between the self and the psychological model offered. One would expect then, to find differences in attitudes and views, expressed by individuals located in these worlds. This second area of concern, that of theorizing within different educational contexts, will be examined in Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII will then examine the typologies of identity offered within the different models.

CHAPTER XX

INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND WORLDS OF MEANING: CONTEMPORARY TYPIFICATION - THE WORLD OF SCHOOLING

20.1 Introduction

Theoretical area II[1] was categorised as encompassing interaction between typifications as social structures, and worlds of meaning.

It was posited that identity is a function of the interaction between social structures and worlds of meaning.

There will now be an examination of contemporary typifications of Aboriginal people by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in the sub-structure of the school, and of the symmetry or asymmetry between the typification of Aborigines by students from mainstream society, and the typification of Aborigines by Aborigines.

In seeking to establish the 'world' of contemporary urban Aborigines the following questions must be asked with reference to stereotyping and Aboriginal identity:

> Are negative typifications of Aborigines found in the contemporary symbolic universe of the dominant group? In particular, are they held by a new generation still in the educational system? Have Aboriginal people internalized the negative typifications imposed on them? In particular, are these typifications internalized by a new generation, those still within the educational system?

20.2 Stereotyping in research literature

Stereotyping was first used as a methodology for examining attitudes towards minority groups rejected by mainstream society (initially negro groups and later Irish and Italian groups in the

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[1] See p. 44 above.

United States). It is posited that, because of the orientation towards characteristics of groups which have been minority, depressed groups, it is assumed that stereotyping refers only to negative characteristics and that it will, in general, reflect a distortion of reality (Guilford, 1931; Katz and Allport, 1931; Katz and Braly, 1935; Bayton, 1941; Vinacke, 1949; Allport, 1954). It is posited here that this assumption was further strengthened when stereotyping was used to study prejudice.

For the purposes of this study, stereotyping will be examined with regard both to negative and positive traits, as well as cultural attributes. In this sense, it will approximate Weber's notion of ideal types. Weber adds a further dimension to the concept in that he asserts that ideal types not only serve as a technical aid for a 'more lucid arrangement' of facts to be studied , but

> ...under certain circumstances, a construction might mean more. For the rationality, in the sense of logical or teleological 'consistency' of an intellectual-theoretical or practical-ethical attitude has, and always has had, power over man, however limited and unstable this power is and always has been in the face of other forces of historical life (Weber, in Gerth and Mills, eds., 1970:323).

Weber thus takes up the notion of social constructs having a realizing potency. The construction of 'stereotypes', ideal types, can act to cause these constructions to be 'realized' in actuality. Stereotyping then, following Weber, is given the same meaning as ideal types; like ideal types, stereotypes may be either negative or positive in content.

The earliest concept of a stereotype was of

> A fixed impression which *conforms very little to the facts*[1] it pretends to represent and results from our defining first and observing second (Lippmann, 1922, quoted in Katz and Braly, 1935:181).

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[1]Italics added.

It is posited here that a stereotype, using Weber's notion of ideal type, *can* conform to the 'facts'.

However, it is argued that such 'facts' are socially constructed and not ontological in nature.

It may indeed be a 'fact', for example, that Aborigines 'have no sense of purpose', taken in an ideal-typical sense. It is not accepted that such a present 'fact', even if it presents an accurate reflection of real life, represents an ontological reality.

20.3 Definition of stereotyping for the purpose of this study

With reference to the items constituting Schedule I, students were asked to ring a point on a seven-point scale to show where they would place Australians (Schedule IA), Australian-Italians (Schedule 1B) Australian-Aborigines (Schedule 1C). A separate sheet for the Aboriginal self (Schedule ID) was given out where this was appropriate.

A particular definition of a stereotype was developed for this study on the following basis.

Where the greatest concentration of choices was at the mid-point, it was judged that the characteristic was not seen as a stereotype, e.g.,

	points 1-3	mid-point	points 5-7	
	28%	46%	26%	
trustworthy	. . .	.	. . .	*untrustworthy*

When the mid-point approximated, or equalled another choice, it was judged that this did not reflect stereotyping e.g.,

	points 1-3	mid-point	points 5-7	
	36.3%	36.3%	27.4%	
have no ambition	. . .	.	. . .	*motivated to get somewhere*

Thus for a score to be accepted as a stereotype it had to be greater than the mid-point as well as greater than its opposite.

20.4 Administering Schedule I

There was almost no incidence of respondents being reluctant to stereotype, as was reported in the 1950s literature in the United States of America. Only one person objected that she did not know any Aborigines, and this was in the pilot study.

The question may be asked whether respondents would see the category 'Aborigine' referring to traditional people. Personal experience suggests that traditional Aboriginal people are seen by urban Aborigines as quite 'other'. They are respected and feared, the secret/sacred nature of the Law putting them into a quite different frame of reference. The reference point for stereotyping for those completing the survey would unquestionably be that of urban Aborigines who are visible and known to the white world.

The category Italian was included in an attempt to avoid focussing attention on Aborigines alone, and perhaps causing them embarrassment. It was also included to test the hypothesis that all minority groups would be rejected by mainstream society.

None of the respondents suggested that Italians should be included in 'Australians' or that Aborigines should be included in the category, 'Australian'. This can be explained by the readiness, discussed above, of theorizers to place Aborigines and migrants outside mainstream Australian society.

The lack of reluctance to stereotype can be explained by the comparative recency of Aborigines being acknowledged as a 'problem', and the dearth of research in the area.

In general, respondents, both Aborigines and non-Aborigines had not had their consciousness raised regarding stereotyping. This view is strengthened by the very few omissions, by the fact that choices were made across the scale. The number of choices made in the middle non-committal area, indicating a reluctance to stereotype a particular item, varied greatly.

20.5 The processes of stereotyping

It is posited that, in the case of Aborigines, stereotyping consists of a number of processes, any or all of which may contribute to the social construction of meaning, the socially constructed 'world' with which the individual interacts.

Thus:

1. *Aborigines are stereotyped by mainstream society (Process I)*
2. *In turn, individual Aborigines stereotype Aborigines in general (Process II)*
3. *Aborigines stereotype non-Aborigines (Process III)*
4. *They also formulate a view of how Aborigines are stereotyped by non-Aborigines (Process IV)*
5. *Aborigines construct typifications of themselves (Process V)*

All of this socially constructed knowledge forms a 'world' with which individuals interact and establish their identity.

20.6 Structuring of items for stereotyping - Schedule 1

The constitution of Schedule 1, containing items for stereotyping and the methodology used, is set out on pages 82-83 above.

The items for stereotyping were constructed from four sources:

1. A review of typifications, latent or explicit, in government policy and legislation
2. A review of historical accounts and contemporary research relating to the stereotyping of Aboriginal people
3. A review of literature with Aboriginal people as authors
4. Interviews with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, conducted in the process of defining the problem to be researched.

Items from these sources, organized within the framework of the processes of stereotyping outlined above, are documented in Appendix IX.

20.7 Research findings - non-Aboriginal response to Schedule I

20.71 Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that the typification of Aborigines by non-Aborigines has been, and is, negative[1].

20.72 Typifications by non-Aboriginal sample

(1) Non-Aborigines typification of Aborigines, (Schedule IC, Appendix VIII)

When non-Aborigines were asked to stereotype Aborigines, all the items listed were stereotyped according to the definition given. All were stereotyped negatively[2]. The stereotypes are ranked in order of support as follows:

TABLE 6

Non-Aborigines stereotype Aborigines N = 289

Rank ordering	%	Item stereotyped
1.	84.1	often in trouble with police
2.	82.2	drink too much
3.	77.3	aggressive pick fights
4.	74.1	waste money
5.	72.5	often in debt
6.	69.4	dirty uncared for
7.	68.5	don't take care of possessions
8.	68.4	don't keep jobs
9.	65.9	quick tempered
10.	64.7	have no ambition
11.	60.6	can't be counted on to do what they say
12.	60.3	no purpose in life
13.	59.7	poor sense of right and wrong
14.	59.4	don't speak proper English
15.	56.0	neglect children
16.	54.0	untrustworthy
17.	44.6	unfriendly

[1] Hypothesis 2.1, p. 46.

[2] The results of the response to Schedule I are tabulated in full in Appendix XVI.

The three items receiving the highest ratings were all concerned with attributes commonly seen as connected with Aboriginal delinquency - namely

often in trouble with police	(84.1%)
drink too much	(82.2%)
aggressive, pick fights	(77.3%)

Students were asked to go back and select those items they considered most characteristic of Aborigines[1].

The items selected, in the main, reflected the ordering of the stereotypes.

TABLE 7

Characteristics which best describe Aborigines - non-Aboriginal view

rank ordering	Characteristics	Corresponding rating on stereotype
1.	drink too much	2
2.	dirty uncared for	6
3.	aggressive, pick fights	3
4.	waste money	4
5.	often in trouble with police	1
6.	don't keep jobs	8
7.	quick tempered	9
8.	untrustworthy	16
9.	poor sense of right and wrong	13

'Often in debt', and 'don't take care of possessions', ranked high in the stereotyping (5th and 7th respectively), were not seen as most characteristic of Aborigines.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that negative stereotyping of Aborigines would be found in the educational 'world' of Aborigines, and that the negative stereotypes inherent in legislation, policy and literature would be part of the sedimented knowledge of non-Aborigines, was supported.

[1] In scoring the characteristics which best describe a group, a score of 5 was given to the first characteristic chosen, 4 to the second and so on. The scores were then aggregated and ranked in order of support.

20.72 (ii) Non-Aborigines stereotype Australians

It might be expected that non-Aborigines in typifying 'Australians' (i.e. themselves) would tend to locate choices at the mid-point of each item, reflecting a spread of views, and a lack of stereotyping. In fact, the non-Aboriginal response stereotyped 'Australians' on most items and showed a predominantly favourable view.

TABLE 8

Non-Aborigines stereotype 'Australians' N = 289

Rank Ordering	%	Item stereotyped
1	77.1	friendly
2.	67.8	care for possessions
3.	65.1	good parents
4.	63.4	drink too much
5.	61.2	strong sense of right and wrong
6.	59.5	motivated to get somewhere
7.	57.6	know where they are going
8.	55.3	clean and tidy
9.	55.0	good providers
10.	54.4	trustworthy
11.	45.2	reliable
12.	54.1	don't speak properly

Two stereotypes were unfavourable, namely 'drink too much', and 'don't speak proper English'. There are two areas which are not stereotyped, namely, 'often in trouble with police/lead law-abiding lives'; 'often in debt/careful with money'. On each of these issues the greatest number of responses settled at the mid-point.

Thus one might well say that items that are negative in content, e.g., speaking English badly, drinking too much, are nevertheless seen as characteristic of the Australian way of life by the mainstream group, and not characteristics particular to Aborigines.

Being in trouble with the police and being in debt were placed at the mid-point by the non-Aboriginal respondents at the schools studied. The population in general was thus seen to have some problems in this area.

Again these characteristics usually associated with Aborigines were not seen by the mainstream groups as exclusively Aboriginal characteristics.

TABLE 9

Characteristics which best describe 'Australians' - non-Aboriginal response

Rank ordering	Characteristic	Corresponding rating on stereotype
1.	friendly	1
2.	drink too much	4
3.	good parents	3
4.	reliable	12
5.	don't speak proper English	11

Non-Aborigines gave great support to friendliness as an Australian characteristic. This item received the highest support in stereotyping (77.1%) and it was held to be most characteristic of Australians. Not speaking proper English and drinking too much, two negative attributes which were stereotyped, were also seen as best describing Australians.

20.72 (iii) Non-Aborigines stereotype Italians[1]

The question is posed as to whether the negative stereotyping of Aborigines reflects a rejection of Aborigines in particular, or whether this is merely part of a syndrome through which the 'worlds' of all strangers, those outside mainstream society, are nihilated.

Non-Aborigines were asked to stereotype Italians on the same items as Aborigines and to cite those items most characteristic of Italians.

TABLE 10

Non-Aborigines stereotype Italians N = 289

Rank ordering	%	Item stereotyped
1.	82.8	don't speak proper English
2.	66.8	care for possessions
3.	65.7	good parents
4.	61.9	good providers
5.	61.2	quick tempered
6.	60.8	careful with money
7.	59.7	know where they are going
8.	58.1	motivated to get somewhere
9.	50.1	clean and tidy
10.	42.8	strong sense of right and wrong
11.	36.6	untrustworthy

The following Table shows those attributes thought by non-Aborigines to be most characteristic of Italians.

TABLE 11

Characteristics which best describe Italians - non-Aboriginal view

Rank ordering	Characteristic	Corresponding rating on stereotype
1.	don't speak English properly	1
2.	good parents	3
3.	quick tempered	5
4.	good providers	4
5.	careful with money	6

[1] None of the schools surveyed had a high proportion of Italian students.

The items stereotyped were predominantly positive. 'Untrustworthy' was an exception, but opinion was divided, 32 per cent supporting 'trustworthy', 30.7 per cent opting for the mid-point, and 36.6 per cent supporting 'untrustworthy'.

There was greater agreement between the characteristics ... stereotyped as best describing Italians, and the rank ordering of stereotypes, than was the case with Australians and Aborigines.

The evidence suggests that the stereotyping of minority groups by the study population cannot be seen as uniform. Stereotyping of Aborigines was negative. Stereotyping of Italians was predominantly positive.

20.73 Conclusions

There was a negative view of Aborigines by non-Aborigines.

There was a predominantly positive view of Italians by non-Aborigines.

The negative stereotyping of Aborigines cannot be explained on the grounds that all minority groups are stereotyped negatively by mainstream society.

The conclusion may be drawn that the symbolic world of mainstream society inhabited by urban Aborigines is one where Aborigines are perceived by a large proportion of non-Aborigines as having negative characteristics.

The question now asked is whether there is any institutionalization of typifications, whether Aborigines have internalized the typifications of mainstream society, and the social construct has proved to have a 'realizing potency'.

20.8 Typifications by Aborigines

20.81 Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that there would be evidence of institutionalization of typifications, that is, that Aborigines will have internalised the typifications of Aborigines held by the dominant group.

20.82 Aboriginal response to Schedule I

(i) Aborigines stereotype Aborigines in general

TABLE 12

Aborigines stereotype Aborigines in general compared with stereotyping of Aborigines by non-Aborigines

Rank order	Item stereotype	Aboriginal response (N = 93) %	Non-Aboriginal response (N = 289) %	
1.	drink too much	78.7	82.2	
2.	often in trouble with police	72.1	84.2	
3.	often in debt	64.5	72.5	
*4.	friendly	53.2	44.6	unfriendly
5.	waste money	49.5	74.1	
6.	quick-tempered	45.7	68.4	
7.	don't keep jobs	45.2	65.9	
8.	don't care for possessions	45.2	68.5	
9.	aggressive, pick fights	45.1	77.3	
*10.	strong sense of right and wrong	40.8	59.7	poor sense of right and wrong
11.	don't speak proper English	39.6	59.4	

Aborigines stereotyped 'Aborigines' negatively on nine items. The starred items, 'friendly' and 'strong sense of right and wrong', were the only items not stereotyped negatively.

On nine of the seventeen items, Aboriginal people have institutionalized the negative typifications of mainstream society.

A further four items were not stereotyped by Aborigines, but received more than one-third support. Three of these items were negative. The same items were stereotyped negatively by non-Aborigines.

TABLE 13

Items not stereotyped by Aborigines, having more than one-third support

Item, not stereotyped, but supported	Aboriginal response %	Non-Aboriginal response %
trustworthy	37.7	54.2 untrustworthy
no purpose in life	36.1	60.3
no ambition	36.6	64.7
can't be counted on	34.8	60.6

Only two items, according to the definition given, were stereotyped positively: 'friendly' and 'strong sense of right and wrong'. However, on this last item 36.5 per cent believed Aborigines had a poor sense of right and wrong, even though 40.8 per cent believed they had a strong sense of right and wrong.

The commonly held stereotype of Aborigines as dirty and neglected was not favoured. Rather, there was a spread of opinion. Some respondents (5.5%) saw Aborigines in general as *very* dirty and untidy; some (11%) saw them as *very* clean and tidy; most opted for an 'average' view.

clean and tidy	mid-point	dirty
25.5 %	57.6%	16.7%

This spread is also present for the categories 'good providers' and 'neglect children', for items on ambition, on being reliable, on having a purpose in life.

Conclusion

The stereotyping of Aborigines by Aborigines reflects by and large that of non-Aborigines, though with somewhat less support in each case.

The hypothesis that institutionalization of typifications would be found was supported.

The question is now asked whether the Aborigines in the study have internalised negative stereotypes for themselves and their families, as distinct from Aborigines in general.

20.82 (ii) Aborigines stereotype Aboriginal self and family[1]

It was expected that there would be a spread of support on most items with the highest concentration at the mid-point.

TABLE 14

Aborigines stereotype Aboriginal self N = 51

Rank order	%	Item stereotyped
1.	80.0	friendly
2.	80.0	good providers
3.	78.0	good parents
4.	77.5	know where they are going
5.	74.0	law abiding
6.	73.4	care for possessions
7.	72.5	trustworthy
8.	72.0	live and let live
9.	72.0	motivated to get somewhere
10.	72.0	clean and tidy
11.	70.0	reliable
12.	68.0	strong sense of right and wrong
13.	66.0	careful with money
14.	62.0	speak English well
15.	60.4	know when to stop drinking
16.	57.2	generous with money
17.	44.0	even-tempered

[1]An extra sheet, Schedule ID was inserted for 'Aboriginal self and family' at S.A.I.T., where all the students were Aboriginal. This could not be done at Stone's Business College, as students identified as Aboriginal for the purpose of secondary grants without necessarily identifying themselves as Aboriginal in other circumstances.

The sheet was also inserted at Pt. Augusta where it was acceptable for students to identify and be identified as Aboriginal students - it was not acceptable at Taperoo and Salisbury North.

These circumstances reflect the theorizing of the realitv definers and are an important part of the 'world' of the students (See Chapter XIX above). However, they must be accepted as a severe limitation to the findings in this particular area.

Aboriginal views about the self from all institutions are found in responses to Schedule II, Chapter XXII.

The typifications of the Aboriginal self and family had great coherence. The Aboriginal self was seen positively by the majority of the group on all items. There were no negative stereotypes. Of the seventeen items possible, all can be regarded as positive stereotypes (Table 14). Fifteen of these items had agreement of more than 60 per cent, eleven of these had agreement of more than 70 per cent.

While the conclusions drawn must be related only to those groups in the study who were visible, and whom it was possible to identify overtly as Aborigines, nevertheless it may be asserted that

The negative stereotype of Aborigines, held by mainstream society and institutionalised for Aborigines in general, is NOT internalised for the Aboriginal self in those situations where Aborigines are visible and it is acceptable to identify and be identified as Aboriginal.

20.82 (iii) Comparison of Aboriginal view of self and Aboriginal view of Aborigines in general

Despite the fact that the positive view of the Aboriginal self was supported on each item, and despite the fact that a predominantly negative view of Aborigines in general was supported, there was some overlap when examining those traits thought to be most characteristic of Aborigines and the Aboriginal self.

TABLE 15

Characteristics which best describe Aboriginal self compared with characteristics which best describe Aborigines in general

Aboriginal self	Aborigines in general
1. good parents	1. drink too much
2. trustworthy	2. friendly
3. good providers	3. quick tempered/aggressive
4. clean and tidy	4. trustworthy
5. friendly	5. good parents

It will be seen that the only positive categories attributed to Aborigines in general were also cited as *most* characteristic. Thus while the stereotypes were predominantly negative for Aborigines in general, out of the first five characteristics, there were three positive characteristics cited as most characteristic of Aborigines in general.

Trait	Rank order
friendly	2
trustworthy	4
good parents	5

If we look for points of contrast between the Aboriginal self and Aborigines in general we find in the stereotyping that the Aboriginal self:

does *not* drink too much
is *not* often in trouble with police
is *not* often in debt
does keep jobs
does care for possessions
is *not* quick tempered
is *not* aggressive (does not pick fights)
does have ambitions
does have a purpose in life
can be counted on
speaks English well
has a strong sense of right and wrong
is a good parent
is clean and tidy

On all these items, the negative stereotype of Aborigines was accepted for the 'masses' but rejected for the self.

The distancing of the Aboriginal self from Aborigines in general may be explained by the fact that all Aborigines interviewed recognised that there are Aborigines who have had their culture destroyed, who are in a state of anomie, of identity-diffusion. They are the 'broken ones', the 'dead', falling between the tradition-oriented people and

the urban people. Another group are the fringe dwellers living in shanties on the outskirts of towns.

The Aborigines in the survey live in an urban situation. In the words of the Perth magistrate quoted above[1], they live in normal houses (if often substandard), with normal addresses and locate themselves in urban society.

While traditional Aboriginal society is classless, urban Aborigines may be seen to be integrated into white society to the extent that they reflect class attitudes. Natasha McNamara is quoted by Gilbert (1977:107) as saying that "Adelaide has a middle-class Aboriginal population which is, basically, I should imagine, somewhat like the middle-class white people".

Such Aboriginal people would, understandably, view those Aborigines who are less acculturated as a different class and reproduce the same response of distancing as is found in white society.

It is posited that the discrepancy between the stereotyping of the Aboriginal self and Aborigines in general can be explained in terms of distancing contexted into the research on social class. Davies (1969) for example, points out that in locating oneself in a class, those in the class nearest were rejected.

It is posited that mythologies about an 'Aboriginal way of life' obscure the fact that Aboriginal people do allocate themselves, however tentatively, to different class groups.

It may be expected that Aboriginal people will locate themselves in a world view of a class society and wish to distance themselves from those immediately below them.

20.82 (iv) Aborigines stereotype 'Australians'

Many Aborigines admit freely (e.g., in Tatz, 1975:10, 20; in Gilbert, 1977:91) that they are anti-white, that they too are racist, and have a negative stereotype of whites.

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[1] See p. 120 above.

It was hypothesized that the Aborigines would stereotype 'Australians' in a predominantly negative fashion. In fact there were seven items stereotyped positively.

TABLE 16

Aborigines stereotype 'Australians' N = 93

Rank order	Item stereotyped	%
1.	care for possessions	70.2
2.	drink too much	59.8
3.	friendly	56.0
4.	motivated to get somewhere	55.4
5.	good providers	50.0
6.	know where they are going	49.5
7.	good parents	45.1

Table 17 gives the characteristics which Aborigines saw as best describing 'Australians'.

TABLE 17

Characteristics which best describe 'Australians'

1.	drink too much
2.	friendly
3.	care for possessions
4.	clean and tidy
5.	trustworthy

In ranking the five characteristics, two new categories which were not judged to be stereotypes according to the definition above were given support.

The category 'clean and tidy' was accorded 44.2 per cent support, with 52.7 per cent opting for the mid-point. It is not therefore inconsistent that it is included as a chief characteristic. It is interesting to note that this item is again the antithesis of the stereotype for Aborigines, who are held to be *not* clean and tidy.

There is some discrepancy concerning the item 'trustworthy' which was not stereotyped and yet was seen as characteristic of Australians in general.

In the case of trustworthy/untrustworthy, 24.7 per cent believed Australians were trustworthy, 18.3 per cent believed they were untrustworthy, with 57.0 per cent opting for mid-point. This result may be seen to reflect the uneasy relationship between the two groups, historically, and the unwillingness to stereotype the 'Australian' group as trustworthy. There is one negative characteristic given support:

drink too much 59.8%

The stereotypes of 'Australians' were thus of people who care for possessions, who are motivated, are good providers, good parents, people with a purpose in life, friendly people who drink too much.

It is possible to see here not only a statement of perception of 'Australian' society, but a rejection of stereotypes of Aboriginal society.

Recurring themes in Aboriginal literature document the antithesis of the characteristics noted for white society:

Aborigines lack the ability to care for houses
They neglect their children
They are unable to keep jobs
They lack a sense of purpose
They lack motivation.

Looking ahead to Schedule II replies[1] we know that of this group of Aboriginal respondents, 51.7 per cent believed that Aborigines should merge into the community (Statement 29); (27.0 per cent were 'not sure', and 21.4 per cent believed Aborigines should not 'merge'). In general, we are looking at a group stereotyping the mainstream society with which they believe they should merge.

In stereotyping Australians as drinking too much, the image may or may not be negative. It may be that drinking continues to be seen as a white pursuit, a proof of being accepted as a human being, part of the white society towards which the Aborigine is oriented.

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[1] See p. 387.

In sum, it is noteworthy that a 'world' that is seen to have a strongly negative view of Aborigines is not, in retaliation, stereotyped negatively. One would expect that, at the least, Australians would be seen as unfriendly by Aborigines. In fact they are rated by 56.0 per cent as friendly.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that Aborigines would stereotype Australians negatively was not supported.

20.82 (v) Aborigines stereotype Italians

It was hypothesized that since Italians are a minority ethnic group, who are not political migrants, but come from economically depressed areas in Italy, Aborigines would see them (1) as a group near to them on the social scale and hence to be rejected, (2) as a migrant group taking jobs rightfully belonging to Aborigines and hence to be rejected.

TABLE 18

Aboriginal stereotyping of Italians compared with non-Aboriginal stereotyping of Italians

Rank order[1]	Item stereotyped	Aboriginal respondents % (N=93)	Non-aboriginal respondents % (N=289)
1.	don't speak proper English	82.8	82.8
2.	care for possessions	74.3	66.8
3.	careful with money	64.5	60.8
4.	good parents	63.4	65.7
5.	good providers	59.2	61.9
6.	know where they are going (purpose in life)	58.1	59.7
7.	quick-tempered	58.0	61.2
8.	motivated to get somewhere	53.8	58.1
9.	clean and tidy	41.8	50.1
10.	untrustworthy	40.3	36.6
11.	strong sense of right and wrong	37.6	42.8

[1]The rank-ordering of responses refers to Aboriginal responses.

Italians were stereotyped by Aborigines on eleven items out of a possible seventeen, eight of these positive, compared with 'Australians' stereotyped on seven items. There was thus a higher degree of consensus overall. There was also a higher degree of consensus on individual items. The strong point of difference is that whereas 'Australians' were seen by Aborigines as 'friendly' (56.0 per cent), Italians were seen by 33.0 per cent of Aborigines as unfriendly, though with the highest support at the mid-point (37.2 per cent); 33.9 per cent of non-Aborigines also saw Italians as 'unfriendly', with 41.2 per cent seeing them as friendly. Italians were stereotyped by Aborigines as untrustworthy (40.3 per cent) and quick-tempered (58.0 per cent). They were not stereotyped as 'drinking too much'.

On the whole Italians were stereotyped in a way similar to that of 'Australians' - good parents, good providers, caring for possessions, motivated, having a purpose in life. They were seen additionally as having a strong sense of right and wrong, being clean and tidy and being careful with money.

Two negative stereotypes were recorded: Italians were overwhelmingly judged not to speak proper English, and despite having a strong sense of right and wrong they were seen as untrustworthy by both Aborigines and non-Aborigines. They were not seen, as Australians were, as being friendly. They were seen as deviant from Australian norms in that "they know when to stop drinking".

One may speculate that Italians are seen as a close-knit ethnic group projecting a strong value system. Several explanations may be offered as to why Italians were seen as 'unfriendly' and 'untrustworthy'.

This may be set into the context that Simmel outlines in his essay on The Stranger (Wolff, 1950:402-408), that is, that a minority ethnic group cannot be counted on to reflect the values of the dominant group; its members are apt to distance themselves as strangers who import qualities into a group which do not stem from the group itself. From the point of view of Aborigines, Italians as a minority group could be seen as socially near to Aborigines, and as migrants taking jobs

that belong to Aborigines[1]. This has been shown to be a source of resentment.

There is also the possibility that Italians wish to distance themselves from a depressed minority group in the community and are therefore seen to be unfriendly to Aborigines.

Conclusion

The hypothesis that the stereotypes of Italians held by Aborigines would be negative was not supported.

20.83 Summary and conclusions

Non-Aboriginal stereotypes of Aborigines were consistently negative.

Aborigines also stereotyped Aborigines in general in a negative fashion. However, on most items stereotyped negatively by Aborigines themselves, the degree of support for negative stereotyping by non-Aborigines was clearly greater.

We are presented with a typification for Aborigines that is predominantly negative within their own universe of meaning, but overwhelmingly negative on the part of mainstream society.

Thus Aborigines see the Aboriginal world as negative; mainstream society sees it as even more negative.

This overwhelming negative view must be further considered in relation to the self-stereotyping of Aborigines in the study[2], and in relation to the stereotyping of non-Aborigines by Aborigines[3]. In both cases only one item was stereotyped negatively, and the remainder either stereotyped positively or not stereotyped at all.

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[1] See Statement 44, Schedule II, p. 379, 387.

[2] See p. 346.

[3] See p. 350.

Aborigines typify 'Australians in general' positively. An 'Australian' world of meaning has positive attributes. Aborigines in the study typified the Aboriginal *self* positively.

In sum, the Aborigines in the research population accepted for other Aborigines most of the common stereotypes found in the literature, giving major agreement to those characteristics associated with delinquency - drinking, often being in trouble with police, often in debt, wasting money, not keeping jobs, being quick-tempered and aggressive, picking fights with others.

In the stereotyping of the self, there is strong rejection of all these negative images. One defines oneself not only in a positive way, but by defining the not-I, in this case, Aborigines in general.

In the tradition-oriented situation it is the white who is the not-I and must be rejected. For urban Aborigines it is the fringe-dwellers and the anomic groups that are the not-I, and are to be rejected. 'Australians' are not rejected. Aboriginality, as we shall see later is not rejected. It is the negative attributes of Aborigines that are rejected. It was hypothesized that the Aboriginal people would have internalized a negative identity. With reference to the population studied, this hypothesis was not supported. On the contrary, Aborigines gave great support to positive stereotypes of themselves and their families.

It was hypothesized that non-Aborigines would stereotype Aborigines negatively. This hypothesis *was* supported.

The problem now becomes one of attempting to give meaning to this situation, trying to see how it can be that the Aboriginal group studied can, and in fact does, project a positive identity in the face of negative views held of them by the dominant society.

It is projected that the explanation may be found in the positive theorizing of reality definers, discussed in Chapter XIX, and the interaction of Aboriginal people with this theorizing. The theorizing of *students* will be examined in Chapter XXII, to ascertain whether or not there is symmetry between typifications of Aborigines and theorizing about their location in society.

In the next Chapter, Chapter XXI, there will be a further examination of typifications broken down into each school situation, with its particular 'world' of meaning, in order to investigate whether, within a school situation, typifications are related to the 'theorizing' stances of the reality definers.

CHAPTER XXI

INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND WORLDS OF MEANING - THE 'WORLDS' OF INSTITUTIONS REFLECTED IN TYPIFICATIONS[1]

21.1 Introduction

It has been shown that the theorizing in the schools concerning Aboriginal identity differs from one school to another, thus constructing different worlds of meaning for Aborigines in different schools.

Since it is posited that identity is the result of interaction between social structures and worlds of meaning, then it could be expected that typifications of Aborigines would differ from one school situation to another. It could be expected that these differences could be shown to be reflected in the 'world' produced within the school by the theorizing of the reality definers, which, as has already been shown, reflects the 'world' of Aborigines in different locations.

For example, theorizing at Port Augusta High where the Aboriginal population was large, heterogeneous and visible, was quite different from that at Salisbury North High School where the Aboriginal population, by moving out from kin groupings, was attempting to be 'less visible'. In both cases, theorizing in the school situation was seen as appropriately meeting the 'directions' being taken by the Aboriginal people.

The question now addressed is whether the theorizing that produces different 'worlds' within the schools is reflected in differences in typifications.

21.2 School populations and typifications - hypotheses

It is posited that where location of individuals within the Aboriginal minority group is more evident (e.g. Port Augusta and S.A.I.T.),

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[1] See p. 44 above for an exposition of the theory relevant to this section.

the Aboriginal minority group will act to preserve its cohesion by nihilating the symbolic universe of the dominant group. Conversely, the dominant group will act to nihilate the symbolic universe of the minority group, since it is perceived as posing a threat to the dominant society.

Hence it was hypothesized that the more visible the Aboriginal 'world', the more cohesive would be the view of the Aboriginal self, the more positive would be the typifications of Aborigines in general, and the less positive the view of Australians[1].

It was further hypothesized that the more visible the Aboriginal group, the more negative would be the typification of Aborigines on the part of non-Aborigines. On a continuum, therefore, it could be expected that the following sequence would be found.

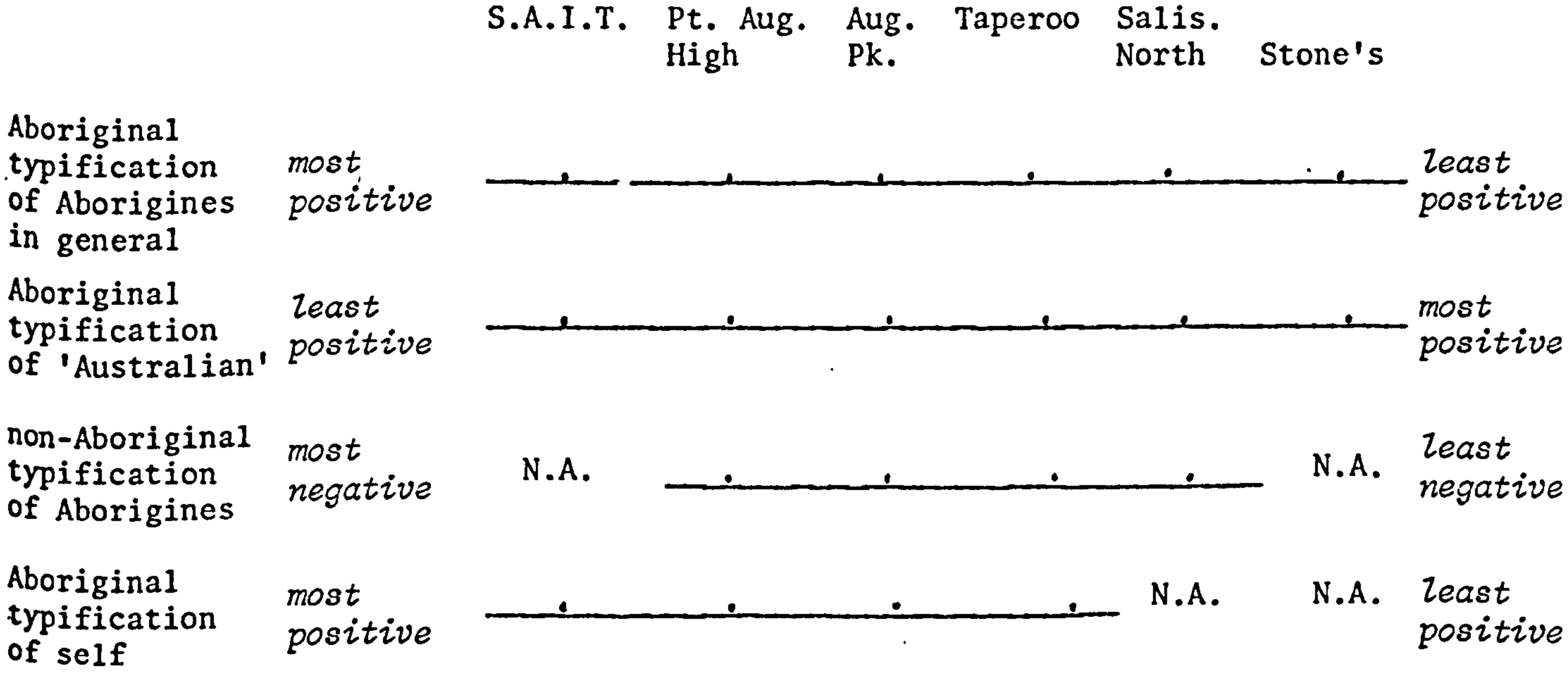

FIGURE 7

Diagrammatic representation of Hypotheses 2.4a and 2.4b

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[1]See hypotheses, p. 47 above.

21.3 Non-Aboriginal typification of Aborigines

21.31 Hypothesis

It is projected that, in examining the typifications of Aboriginal students by non-Aboriginal students, the response of the schools will be located along a continuum in the following way:

Port Augusta Augusta Park Taperoo Salisbury
least positive ← High High High North Nigh → *most positive*

21.32 Non-Aboriginal typification of Aborigines

Comparison of responses, by institution

In computing these tables (Tables 19 to 23), the matter for investigation is not whether stereotyping has taken place.

Rather, the intention is to establish the degrees of support for positive typification of Aborigines and relate this to each institution studied.

In the organization of the tables, the items are therefore all phrased in positive terms, and the percentage figures show positive support.

The 'non-cultural' items of Schedule I (seventeen in number) are again selected out for discussion at this point.

TABLE 19

Comparison of typifications of Aborigines by non-Aboriginal students - Pt. Augusta High, Augusta Park, Taperoo, Salisbury North

	P.A.H. (N=78)	Aug. Park (N=56)	Taperoo (N=91)	Salisbury North (N=64)
	% of support			
trustworthy	+ 12.3	14	14.5	26.6
strong sense of right and wrong	+ 15.7	20.4	20.9	26.5
good parents	+ 16.2	20.4	17.6	28.2
*know where they are going	+ 16.3	16.3	11.0	23.8
are good providers	+ 2.8	6.1	12.1	25.0
care for possessions	+ 11.8	12.2	13.2	30.1
friendly and outgoing	+ 10.7	30.6	24.5	40.7
live and let live	+ 5.3	4.1	11.1	17.2
know when to stop drinking	6.6	10.1	12.1	7.8*
lead law abiding lives	+ 1.3	4.2	3.3	14.1
careful with money	+ 2.7	8.1	7.7	14.1
speak English well	+ 7.8	14.2	32.0	34.5
*motivated to get somewhere	10.7	4.1	14.3	15.7
generous with money	+ 8.1	10.2	9.9	15.6
clean and tidy	2.8	16.3	10.0	15.7*
reliable	+ 9.1	14.3	11.1	21.9
even tempered	+ 6.6	12.3	11.2	25.0

21.33 Discussion

On fifteen of the seventeen items, the smallest proportion of students with a favourable view came from Port Augusta High (the exceptions are starred).

It was hypothesized that Salisbury North would lie at the other end of the continuum.

On all except the two items starred, this was the case.

While it cannot be said that Aborigines were stereotyped positively by respondents from this school, nevertheless the response was consistently more positive than that of the other institutions, and does in fact lie at the end of the continuum.

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal world, the less the support for positive typifications of Aborigines by non-Aborigines was supported.

The support given by Taperoo, shown in Table 19, was not as consistent as the response of the other schools.

If this school is temporarily eliminated from the discussion, then the *order* of support predicted is found in the case of fourteen out of seventeen items (marked + in Table 19).

In the case of stereotyping of 'Australians', the reverse was consistently true. Salisbury North, while not stereotyping 'Australians' negatively, nevertheless gave less support to positive typifications of this group than did the other schools[1].

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[1]See Appendix XVI for tabulation of all responses.

21.4 Aboriginal typification of 'Australians'

21.41 Hypothesis

It was hypothesized (2.4a) that, where Aborigines were a visible group, non-Aborigines would have a negative view of Aborigines and, in turn, Aborigines would have a negative view of 'Australians'.

The prediction was thus that, in the secondary sector, a higher proportion of Port Augusta Aboriginal students would hold a negative view of Australians, followed by Augusta Park and Taperoo. In the post-secondary context, the prediction was that S.A.I.T. students would have a negative view, and the group at Stone's would show uncertainty in typifying 'Australians', that is, they would opt most often for the mid-point.

21.42 Aborigines typify 'Australians'.

TABLE 20

Aboriginal typification of 'Australians' -
comparison across all institutions

	Secondary School Pop$^{n.}$			Post secondary Pop^{n}	
	Pt.Aug. High - (N=25)	Aug. Park (N=10)	Taperoo (N=17)*	S.A.I.T. (N=18)	Stone's (N=19)
	% of support				
trustworthy	37.6	10	12.6	16.7	15.8
*strong sense of right and wrong	36.0	30	46.7	+27.8	27.8
*good parents	47.8	40	66.7	+27.9	42.1
know where they are going	62.5	50	37.5	44.5	42.1
are good providers	62.5	50	46.7	+23.6	55.6
care for possessions	76	50	75.1	72.2	68.4
friendly and outgoing	76	50	46.7	+33.4	52.6
*live and let live	29.2	30	43.8	+16.7	42.1
know when to stop drinking	20	0	6.7	5.6	0
lead law abiding lives	40	20	37.6	33.4	26.4
careful with money	44	33.3	33.3	+22.3	11.1
speak English well	52	20	37.6	33.3	15.8
motivated to get somewhere	75	50	31.3	50.1	61.1
generous with money	41.7	20	25	+5.6	0
clean and tidy	62.5	40	37.5	+27.9	47.4
*reliable	27.2	40	33.4	+11.1	26.3
even tempered	28	20	12.6	+11.2	26.3

*Note: Salisbury North numbers were too small to be included.
See p. 566 for complete data.

21.43 Discussion

(i) Comparison of secondary school population.

On all but four items (starred) Port Augusta had the highest proportion of its Aboriginal students who typified 'Australians' positively. Seventy-six per cent of the Port Augusta High group saw 'Australians' as friendly.

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal world the less positive the Aboriginal typification of 'Australians' was not supported.

On the contrary, Aboriginal students at Port Augusta High, despite the fact that they were seen most negatively by 'Australian' students from the same school, nevertheless had the greatest support for a positive view of 'Australians'.

The picture is not so clear for Taperoo and Augusta Park. In comparing the two, Augusta Park Aboriginal students had more support than Taperoo for a positive typification of 'Australians' on seven items.

Taperoo had more support for a positive view on nine items.

On the question of Aborigines typifing 'Australians' positively, the schools ranged themselves in the following order: Port Augusta High, Taperoo, Augusta Park. However, the figures allow a firm conclusion to be drawn only in the case of Port Augusta High.

21.43 (ii) Post-secondary population - Aboriginal typification of 'Australians'

(a) S.A.I.T. (N = 18)

It was hypothesized (Hypothesis 2.5a, p. 47) that, given the fact that this group of Aborigines had grown up within family groupings subjected to repressive legislation they would have a cohesive view of 'Australians' which was one of rejection.

The S.A.I.T. group had a less favourable view of Australians than that of the schools studied on ten items (marked + in Table 20), a finding that is easily explained in light of the fact that these people and their families had experienced the segregation and nihilation of the pre-seventies.

On these ten items, there was cohesion in the low degree of support of positive typifications compared with the schools. On only two items, 'care for possessions' and 'motivated to get somewhere' was there a degree of support of more than 50 per cent, compared with seven items from Port Augusta High, five items from Augusta Park and two items from Taperoo.

Even on one of the two items supported, more Aborigines saw the Aboriginal self as highly motivated (88.8 per cent for Aboriginal self compared with 50.1 per cent for 'Australians').

Thus there is evidence, in the pattern of response, of the S.A.I.T. Aboriginal group distancing themselves from Australians in general by a more negative response than is found in the schools.

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal group, the less positive the typification of 'Australians' was supported in the case of the adult, S.A.I.T. group. It was not supported in the school situations.

It is possible that, like Strelley, one element of group cohesion is found in establishing the group over and against an 'enemy', and that Aboriginal identity in the post-secondary group is constructed and legitimated by rejecting the world of white people which has rejected them.

One can posit the rejection, not necessarily of the values of white society, but of the people purported to hold those values. It will be seen (p.442ff.below) that 'white' values are embraced in the positive self image of the Aborigine.

21.43 (ii) Post-secondary response

(b) Stone's Business College (N = 19)

It was hypothesized (Hypothesis 2.5b) that this group would show an ambivalence in their typifications of Australians which reflected their ambivalence in identifying themselves as Aborigines.

The students at this institution can be seen as marginal to the dominant society: the stranger in transition.

When the degree of support of positive typifications is examined (Table 20) for agreement with other institutions, we find that Stone's had more than 50 per cent support on four items (compared with Port Augusta High, seven items; Augusta Park, five items; and Taperoo, two items).

However, when Stone's responses are analysed using stereotyping as a basis, there is a clustering of opinion at the mid-point, a phenomenon characteristic of Stone's Aboriginal group in their typification of 'Australians'.

'Australians' were stereotyped negatively on only two issues:

waste money	50.1%
drink too much	52.7%

'Australians' were stereotyped positively on four items:

friendly	52.6%
good providers	55.6%
care for possessions	68.4%
motivated to get somewhere	61.1%

For the remaining 11 items opinion fell at the mid-point. Thus there was a reluctance to stereotype 'Australians'. The students would appear to be saying: "I'm not really sure what I think about Australians on most issues. Its safer to put them at the mid-point".

The hypothesis that this group, seen as ambivalent in their identification as Aborigines, would show uncertainty in typifying 'Australians' was supported.

21.5 Aboriginal typification of Aborigines in general

21.51 Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that those Aborigines who have merged into the population would distance themselves from Aborigines in general, and hence, that of the schools studied, Pt. Augusta High would have most support for a positive view of Aborigines, Taperoo least positive support, and that S.A.I.T. students would show positive support, with Stone's students, again, showing ambivalence.

The responses were thus expected to be distributed in the following way:

most support	S.A.I.T.	Pt. Aug. High	Stone's	Augusta Park	Taperoo	*least support*

For the following table, the institution showing most support in each case is starred.

21.52 Aboriginal typification of Australian Aborigines - Comparison across institutions

Table 21 gives a comparison of Aboriginal typification of Aborigines across all the institutions studied.

TABLE 21

Aboriginal typification of Australian Aborigines - a comparison across the institutions studied.

	Pt. Augusta High (N=25)	Aug. Pk. (N=10)	Taperoo (N=17)	S.A.I.T. (N=18)	Stone's (N=19)
	% of support				
trustworthy	21.7	+40	23.6	*61.1	31.7
strong sense of right and wrong	33.4	+40	25.1	44.5	*52.7
good parents	21.7	11.1	29.4	*33.4	31.7
know where they are going	25.1	+40	11.8	*27.8	21.1
good providers	16.7	+*40	29.4	5.6	26.3
care for possessions	29.2	+*33.3	29.5	27.8	15.8
friendly and outgoing	22.7	+50	35.3	*77.7	73.7
live and let live	8.4	+30	25.1	*35.3	0
know when to stop drinking	*4.2	10.0	5.9	*16.8	0
lead law abiding lives	4.2	+*20	0	5.6	5.3
careful with money	12.9	+*30	17.7	0	5.3
speak English well	20.8	20	*50	29.5	26.3
motivated to get somewhere	31.8	+*50	31.3	22.3	21.1
generous with money	4.3	11.1	17.7	*61.1	26.3
clean and tidy	19	10	*31.3	27.8	26.3
reliable	17.3	+20.0	18.8	*55.6	31.6
even tempered	12.6	+20	12.5	*44.5	5.3

* denotes greatest degree of support across institutions.

\+ denotes greatest degree of support in the school situation.

21.53 Discussion

(i) Secondary school population

In Table 21 the items starred showed the institution with the greatest degree of support on that particular item.

When the school population is considered, the most support for the positive typification of Aborigines in general came from Augusta Park, with comparatively more support on 12 items (marked + in Table 21).

Port Augusta High had the least support for a positive typification of Aborigines in general.

It therefore had

- the least favourable typification of Aborigines by non-Aborigines
- the least favourable typification of Aborigines by Aborigines
- the most favourable typification of 'Australians' by Aborigines.

The hypothesis (2.4a) that the more visible the Aboriginal world the more positive the typification of Aborigines by Aborigines was not supported.

An explanation for this finding could again be found in the notion of distancing. It has been shown[1] that the 'world' of Port Augusta High Aborigines is a very heterogeneous one, with people from different origins and also different social strata. The negative stereotyping of Aborigines by the Port Augusta group may very well mean that those few who have struggled to remain on at school, distance themselves from Aborigines in general. Those Aborigines who persist above the age of compulsory attendance are already a 'success' story by Aboriginal standards.

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[1] See Chapter XIX.

21.53 (ii) Post-secondary population

(a) S.A.I.T.

S.A.I.T. students gave more positive support to the typification of Aborigines in general, than did Stone's, on fourteen of the seventeen items (Table 21).

When all the institutions, secondary and post-secondary are examined, S.A.I.T. shows the most favourable typifications on eight of the seventeen items.

Thus in the case of S.A.I.T., the hypothesis that the more visible the group, the more support will be given to positive typifications of 'Aborigines in general', was supported.

21.53 (ii) Post-secondary population

(b) Stone's Business College

Only two items received support of over 50 per cent - 'strong sense of right and wrong', (52.7 per cent); 'friendly and outgoing' (73.7 per cent).

Only two items were stereotyped for Aborigines in general, with more than 70 per cent agreement by students at Stone's College. Aborigines were seen as 'friendly', 73.7 per cent, and 'drinking too much', 89.5 per cent. This compares with thirteen items being stereotyped at this level by students at S.A.I.T. Aborigines were stereotyped (with less support) on several items, all except one* negative, namely:

	%
don't take care of possessions	52.7
often in trouble with police	57.9
often in debt	58.0
have no ambition	42.2
waste money	42.1
*strong sense of right and wrong	52.7
don't keep jobs	36.9

Less than half the items were stereotyped, either positively or negatively. Rather, opinion clustered at the mid-point, with reference to the remaining eight items.

The hypothesis that this group of Aborigines would be ambivalent in their attitudes to both Aboriginal and white society was supported.

21.6 Aboriginal typification of the self

21.61 Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Port Augusta High Aboriginal students would have internalized a negative stereotype for the self, and that Augusta Park would also have a negative stereotype, but less negative than that of Port Augusta High.

It is possible to compare these two situations for the Aboriginal view of the self.

21.62 Aboriginal typification of Aboriginal self - Port Augusta, Augusta Park

TABLE 22

Aboriginal typification of the self - Pt. Augusta, Augusta Park.

	Port Augusta (N = 25) %	Augusta Park (N = 10) %
trustworthy	63.6	77.8
strong sense of right and wrong	52.4	66.6
good parents	71.4	66.7
know where they are going	80.0	88.9
good providers	71.5	77.7
care for possessions	81.0	66.7
friendly and outgoing	80.9	77.8
live and let live	61.9	77.7
know when to stop drinking	50.0	50.0
lead law abiding lives	71.4	77.7
careful with money (vs. often in debt)	66.7	77.7
speak English well	61.9	55.5
motivated to get somewhere	61.9	55.5
generous with money (vs. waste money)	57.2	37.5
clean and tidy	66.7	77.8
reliable	57.1	55.5
even tempered	42.8	55.6

21.63 Discussion

(i) Secondary school population

The contrast of the view of self and family, with the view of Aborigines in general, is striking.

If two thirds support is taken as an arbitrary high level cut-off point, Port Augusta High has high positive support for eight items, Augusta Park for eleven items. If 50 per cent or less is taken as low support, both groups are seen to have a low support for evenness of temper, low support for knowing when to stop drinking, and Augusta Park students see their families wasting money. The two Port Augusta groups also have *relatively* low support for the reliability of the self (57.1 per cent, Port Augusta High; 55.5 per cent, Augusta Park).

Augusta Park also has relatively low support for 'being motivated to get somewhere' and 'speaking English well'.

Contrary to expectations, there is evidence that, despite the negative stereotyping of Aborigines by non-Aborigines, and despite the negative stereotyping of Aborigines in general by Aborigines, the Aborigines in the study had a predominantly positive self image of themselves and their families.

The hypothesis that these two groups would have internalised the negative stereotypes of the host society was not supported.

21.63 (ii) Post-secondary population - S.A.I.T.

As a visible group striving towards Aboriginal identity, the Port Augusta group may be compared with another visible group, this time post-secondary, at the South Australian Institute of Technology.

TABLE 23

Aboriginal typification of the self - S.A.I.T. (N = 18)

Item	percentage
trustworthy	77.8
strong sense of right and wrong	83.4
good parents	88.9
know where they are going	72.3
good providers	88.9
care for possessions	66.7
friendly and outgoing	77.7
live and let live	83.4
know when to stop drinking	77.8
lead law abiding lives	72.2
careful with money	55.6
speak English well	66.7
motivated to get somewhere	88.8
generous with money (vs.waste money)	66.7
clean and tidy	72.3
reliable	88.8
even tempered	43.5

S.A.I.T. was remarkable in its cohesiveness of view. Half the items received more than 75 per cent support and nine items more than 75 per cent support.

In view of the general cohesiveness of view, the items with low support must be taken as presenting a problem of integration into the particular view of the self (i.e. being even tempered, and managing money).

21.7 Summary

The picture of the Aboriginal groups is one of people able to structure a positive self-image, despite rejection by the dominant society. The conclusion can be drawn that students at Port Augusta, despite a racist atmosphere outside the school, and negative stereotyping within the school, are able to draw strength of mind, and a positive outlook, from school structures and school policy, together with the positive theorizing of definers of reality within the Aboriginal community.

Similarly, it may be argued that the S.A.I.T. group, who have experienced rejection in the milieu of white society, have built on that rejection to form a group cohesiveness which is strengthened by the enclave system which promotes high visibility. The theorizing of the enclave staff is, like the theorizing of the Port Augusta group, overtly directed towards the strengthening of Aboriginal identity. The theorizing is of a highly positive nature in that it is predicated on a belief that Aboriginal people *are* intelligent, and that they *can* succeed in tertiary studies.

The puzzle still remains as to how it is possible for Aborigines to construct positive self-images in the light of their rejection by their white consociates, unless the theorizing of Aboriginal people at Port Augusta about their society being parallel to white society is accepted.

Interview data reveals that theorizing on the part of non-Aboriginal definers of reality in educational contexts was, without exception, favourable to Aborigines. (In the case of Salisbury North, the refusal to theorize about Aborigines as Aborigines, rather than as 'Australians' on the part of the Principal, was certainly, in his view, the 'theorizing' most favourable for Aborigines).

The question must be asked whether, at the level of theorizing, the non-Aboriginal students were more supportive than they were on the question of typifications. Non-Aboriginal response to Schedule II Statements relating to Aborigines will now be examined in Chapter XXII.

CHAPTER XXII

STUDENTS' THEORIZING ABOUT WORLDS OF MEANING

22.1 Introduction

It has been shown in Chapter XIX that the theorizing about Aboriginal identity of reality definers in the school situation is positive. However, it was found (Chapters XX-XXI) that the typification of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal students was negative.

In spite of this, the *self*-typification of Aborigines was positive.

Manifestly this self-image is not formed by internalising the typifications of other students.

It is concluded that it is formed by interaction with the positive theorizing of the school personnel, and the positive theorizing of Aboriginal people interacting with government policies of the seventies and eighties.

However, it may also be possible that non-Aboriginal students may *theorize* positively about Aborigines,despite the fact that they typify them negatively.

In order to tap 'rudimentary' theorizing of the students, statements were composed[1], taken directly from Aboriginal writings or interviews. The statements either gave the Aboriginal point of view, or their perception of the point of view of the white world with relation to the Aboriginal 'world'.

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[1]Schedule II, Appendix X. See p. 83-84 for an account of the constitution of Schedule II.

22.2 'Theorizing' about a multi-cultural Australia - non Aboriginal response

Multi-culturalism as a Governmental policy and the location of Aborigines within this framework has been discussed[1]. The following statements sought to tap rudimentary theorizing on the part of students in two areas. The first concerned issues touching on Australia as a multi-cultural society, the second related to theorizing about the location of Aborigines in this society.

22.21 Theorizing about multi-culturalism

22.22 Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that non-Aboriginal students will have interacted with the theorizing of reality definers in the schools, and that theorizing about multiculturalism in its reified form (that is, as theory, as learning *about* cultures) will be accepted by all schools.

It is further hypothesized that in those schools where there has been a negative typification of Aborigines there will be a rejection of the notion of having coloured people as migrants.

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[1] See Chapter XI.

22.23 Comparison of Schedule II Statements, 5, 6, 10 across Institutions, non-Aboriginal response

TABLE 24

Non-Aboriginal response to Schedule II Statements 5, 56, 10 - Theorizing about multi-culturalism

	Statement	Pt.Aug. High (N=78) %	Augusta Park (N=56) %	Taperoo (N=91) %	Salisbury North (N=64) %
5.	It is good to have a mixture of cultures (agree)	50.7	50.9	50.0	60.3
56.	Life would be better in Australia if everyone tried to learn about other cultures (agree)	58.5	48.2	56.7	57.9
10.	Migrants from Europe are alright, but it is better not to have coloured people (disagree)	63.7	59.3	54.4	77.4

Pt. Augusta High students gave most support to learning about other cultures as compared with the notion that it is good to have a mix of cultures. Salisbury North gave strong support both to having a mix of cultures and learning about other cultures. It also gave the strongest measure of disagreement to the notion that it is better not to have coloured people in Australia.

All schools gave at least 50 per cent support to the statements supporting multiculturalism, with Salisbury North, overall, being most supportive.

The hypothesis of the acceptance of multi-culturalism in the form of learning about cultures was supported.

In the light of their negative stereotyping of Aborigines, it was surprising to find Pt. Augusta High rejecting the notion that it was better not to have coloured people in Australia. On this statement, Pt. Augusta came nearest to Salisbury North in its degree of support.

The hypothesis that those schools having a negative typification of Aborigines would reject Statement 10 was not supported.

Overall, the picture is that Salisbury North gives the greatest support to having a mix of cultures, accepting coloured migrants and learning about other cultures.

The other three schools gave comparatively less support to having a mix of cultures. Pt. Augusta High and Taperoo give more support to learning about other cultures. More than 50 per cent at each school rejected the notion that it is better not to have coloured people.

However, the schools all gave support to statements about having a mix of cultures and learning about other cultures.

The hypothesis that there would be evidence of interaction between the theorizing of school personnel and non-Aboriginal students was supported.

22.24 Vietnamese in a multi-cultural Australia

Statement 1, concerning Vietnamese, was included partly as a distraction from highlighting issues concerned with Aborigines, partly seeking a basis of comparison between attitudes towards this most recent coloured group of migrants and towards Aboriginal people.

TABLE 25

Statements relating to Vietnamese - non-Aboriginal response

	Statement		Pt.Aug. High (N=78)	Augusta Park (N=56)	Taperoo (N=91)	Salisbury North (N=64)
1.	Vietnamese should leave all their way of life behind and become Australian	(agree)	17.1	11.2	32.6	30.2

It is interesting to note that, in response to Statement 1, Vietnamese should leave all their way of life behind and become Australian, the two schools where there was most assimilation of other groups (Taperoo and Salisbury North) gave more support to assimilation for Vietnamese (32.6 per cent and 30.2 per cent respectively), compared with 17.1 per cent Pt. Augusta High and 11.2 per cent Augusta Park.

Nevertheless, there was rejection of this notion by each school (53.9 per cent, 64.5 per cent, 49.5 per cent and 47.6 per cent, from Pt. Augusta High, Augusta Park, Taperoo and Salisbury North, respectively).

The support for multiculturalism found in Table 24 was also found with respect to Vietnamese keeping their culture.

22.25 Aborigines in a multi-cultural Australia

The following statements, touching on the location of Aborigines in mainstream society, were culled from interviews.

TABLE 26

Schedule II 'theorizing' statements relating to the location of Aborigines in the Australian 'world' - comparison of non-Aboriginal institutional responses.

Statement	Salis. High (N=64) %	Taperoo (N=91) %	Augusta Park (N=56) %	Pt. Aug. High (N=78) %
51. I think Aborigines should try to be white (disagree)	76.2	69.6	67.9	69.7
19. I think Aborigines should merge into the general population (agree)	65.6	50.6	37.0	36.0
31. I think Aborigines should form strong groups to get somewhere (agree)	57.3	53.4	22.7	29.3
59. I think Australian people show discrimination when they employ people. They would rather not employ Aborigines (agree)	75.4	61.8	52.7	52.7
44. Seeing Aborigines were here long before migrants, they ought to get jobs before migrants (agree)	50.0	43.3	15.4	27.3

The expressions 'I've *tried* to be white' or 'They aren't white, they never will be', are often heard from older Aboriginal people.

The notion that Aborigines should 'try to be white' was rejected by the non-Aboriginal students even more strongly than the notion that Vietnamese should leave all their way of life behind.

In response to the remaining statements in Table 26, the theorizing of the students was consistent with the theorizing of the schools. At Salisbury High, for example, 65.6 per cent of students reflected school thinking that Aborigines should merge into the general population. At Pt. Augusta, the students supported the notion of a parallel model; only 37 per cent of Pt. Augusta High students and 36 per cent of Augusta Park students believed Aboriginal students should merge into the general population.

The theorizing of the city schools would seem to be that Aborigines should merge into the population (thinking that reflected the theorizing of the Principals) but that they should not try to be white, they should not lose their Aboriginality.

This interpretation is strengthened by the response of Salisbury North and Taperoo supporting the idea of Aborigines forming groups to get somewhere.

Fifty-seven per cent of the former, and 53 per cent of the latter, supported this notion.

Seventy five per cent of the Taperoo sample, (the highest proportion of all the schools), believed Australians showed discrimination in employing Aborigines.

The same group had 50 per cent of respondents supporting the notion that Aborigines should get jobs before migrants, a quite surprising response in view of the fact that Salisbury North population has a large proportion of migrants and unemployment is of great concern.

Throughout, students from Salisbury North, which had the lowest level of visibility of Aboriginal people in the study and the lowest

level of over theorizing about Aboriginal people, had the highest support of positive typifications of Aborigines and the most favourable theorizing on the part of students.

The world of Salisbury North would appear to be a consistent one. The positive theorizing of the students about Aborigines reflects the strain towards positive stereotyping. The theorizing concerning Aborigines merging into the population reflects the fact that Aborigines have moved out of long established Aboriginal housing areas to this newly developed area. There is symmetry between the theorizing of the students and the theorizing of the staff.

The response of Pt. Augusta students may be interpreted as reflecting the racist attitudes of the town, and the perception of the threat to the dominant society posed by the high visibility of the Aboriginal population.

The students rejected the notion that 'Aborigines should try to be white' and gave the least support on the issues of Aborigines merging into the general population (37 per cent, Pt. Augusta High, 36 per cent, Augusta Park) the least support for Aborigines forming groups to get somewhere (29.3 per cent, Pt. Augusta High and 22.7 per cent, Augusta Park).

They gave markedly less support than Taperoo and Salisbury North to the notion that employers discriminate against Aborigines, and even less support (15.4 per cent, Pt. Augusta High and 27.3 per cent, Augusta Park) to the notion that Aborigines should get jobs before migrants. These responses can be seen as a reaction to the positive discrimination exercised in the town by the Commonwealth Government reserving places for Aboriginal apprentices.

The high visibility groups had less support in the area of positive typifications, and less favourable 'theorizing' about Aborigines.

Taperoo lay between the two extremes as it did in the theorizing of the school staff. It gave more support to Aborigines than the Pt. Augusta schools but less than Salisbury North.

The theorizing of the students would appear to be consistent with the tenor of the typifications for each school. The schools arranged themselves in the same order of positive and negative response in their theorizing as was found in the process of typification.

22.26 Conclusions

The picture that emerges is one of a metropolitan school population where shades of difference of school philosophy are reflected in attitudes of students, which, in turn, are consonant with the direction of city Aboriginal development, as it has been contexted historically in South Australia.

Gale (1972) has shown the movement to the city has been on the part of acculturated Aboriginal people, coming mainly from Point Pearce and Point McLeay, with over one hundred years' history of socialization by white people.

The movement of these Aboriginal people was toward white society, towards assimilation, resulting in the construction of a sub-culture of white society.

For these people, to identify as Aboriginal has similarities to the way in which others, established in Australia over the same period, relate themselves to their ethnic background. An individual may say for example: "I am fourth generation Australian, with forebears who were English/Irish/German". Such people may have no tangible cultural reminders of their forebears, but nevertheless they may feel a sense of identity, of locating of the self, in making a journey to the birthplace of their forebears, acknowledging their ancestors, but seeing themselves as Australians.

Thus the philosophy of both city schools in the study held it as important to respect the particular aims of Aboriginal people in their search for identity as this was perceived by non-Aborigines. In the view of school personnel, Aborigines are not to be separated

out as a group. This would be seen as counter to the developmental thrust of the Aboriginal people.

However, the disadvantages of Aboriginal students, along with the disadvantages of white students from low socio-economic backgrounds, are to be recognised and countered as far as this is possible in the school. At the same time measures are taken in one of the schools, Taperoo, to support the construction of an Aboriginal identity without articulating this as policy to the whole school body.

The theorizing of the school was reflected in the theorizing of the students. It is good to learn about other cultures. Aborigines are accepted and supported; they should merge into the population, but at the same time should form groups to get somewhere, and there should be some support for positive discrimination in jobs.

At the same time, stereotyping of Aborigines was still negative (though less negative in city schools than at Pt. Augusta).

In the rural urban situation, with a different historical background, and with larger visible groups of Aborigines, there was significantly less support for Aborigines merging into the population, both at the level of school philosophy and student response. Aborigines were perceived as a separate group.

Coinciding with this perception on the part of students, there was significantly less support for Aborigines forming groups to get somewhere, and even less support for the notion of positive discrimination in jobs.

Interview data confirmed the perception that policies of positive discrimination for Aborigines coming out of the Whitlam era produced a backlash of opinion against Aborigines.

It has been posited that such a back lash, with its rejection of a group, acts to give cohesion to the group, and hence explains the fact that there is a positive self-typification on the part of Aborigines.

It is posited that the Aboriginal world of Pt. Augusta does in fact produce a model quite different from that of Adelaide Aborigines. It is a clearly discernible world upheld by the theorizing of the staff of the school but not upheld by the non-Aboriginal student body. It is posited that the Aboriginal world is sufficiently cohesive to pose a threat to the symbolic universe of the white world. As such, in the view of the student body, it must be nihilated in theory and in the formation of the social structures.

The generalization can be made that where the Aboriginal representation is not visible, and where school policy does not emphasize Aboriginality, there is greater support of Aborigines by non-Aborigines.

Where there is highly visible representation of Aborigines, and a school policy that highlights Aborigines as a different group, and holds policies that discriminate in favour of Aborigines there will be less support by non-Aboriginal students.

It is concluded that the more visible the Aboriginal group, the more Aborigines will be rejected and stereotyped negatively by the host group. At the same time, at the level of theorizing, it is possible for a positive stance about multi-culturalism to be adopted by the host group.

A comparison between the Aboriginal response to the issues discussed and the non-Aboriginal response will now be examined.

22.3 Theorizing about a multi-cultural Australia - Aboriginal response

The Aboriginal view-point was remarkably cohesive; for this reason it will not be broken down and related to institutions. Rather, because there was a great strength in the responses, the latter will be shown in a tabular form which will highlight this aspect.

22.31 Theorizing about multi-culturalism

TABLE 27.

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Schedule II statements referring to multi-culturalism

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	*Majority response[1] %
5. I think it is good to have a mixture of cultures in Australia						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	18.5	57.6	12.0	8.7	3.3	76.1
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	15.3	37.4	25.2	12.6	9.5	52.7
10. Migrants from Europe are alright but it is better not to have coloured people in Australia						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	3.3	3.3	8.9	32.2	52.2	84.4
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	6.8	10.1	19.6	33.8	29.7	63.5
56. Life would be better in Australia if everyone tried to learn about other cultures						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	24.7	39.3	23.6	10.1	2.2	64.0
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	13.7	41.9	27.1	11.1	5.5	55.6

*[1] Majority response: The response in this column is computed by adding together Agree strongly, Agree; Disagree strongly, Disagree, and tabling whichever is greater.

It will be seen that on all issues, the Aboriginal response is cohesive; all responses were above the level of 60 per cent.

Statement 10 elicited the strongest response. Fifty-two per cent of Aborigines *disagreed strongly* that it was better not to have coloured people in Australia.

22.32 Vietnamese in a multi-cultural Australia

TABLE 28

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Schedule II statement referring to the location of Vietnamese in the Australian "world'

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority response
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Vietnamese should leave all their ways of life behind and become Australians						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	3.4	16.9	19.1	43.8	16.9	60.7
non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	10.5	12.9	22.4	35.6	18.6	54.2

The notion of assimilation of Vietnamese, the most newly arrived, and a group which is also 'coloured', (Australians have hitherto categorized Asians to the north as 'yellow hordes', 'the yellow peril'),was rejected by the majority of Aborigines and non-Aborigines. The Aboriginal group again had stronger opposition than the non-Aboriginal group.

This is particularly interesting in that one of the most vocal of the reality definers for the Aboriginal population, Charles Perkins, strongly criticised (1975:124, 193; 1975a:117) migrant policies that admit coloured people before Australia solves its own colour problem.

22.33 Aborigines in a multi-cultural Australia

TABLE 29

Schedule II statements referring to the location of Aborigines in the Australian 'world' - a comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority response %
51. I think Aborigines should try to be white						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	3.4	9.0	6.7	22.5	58.4	80.9
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	5.4	6.1	16.8	30.0	41.8	71.8
19. Aborigines should merge into the general population						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	12.4	39.3	27.0	12.4	9.0	51.7
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	16.0	31.0	32.3	11.6	9.2	47.0
31. Aborigines should form groups so that they will get somewhere						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	34.8	34.8	12.4	7.9	10.1	69.6
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	13.0	28.8	32.5	13.0	12.7	41.8
59. I think Australian people show discrimination when they employ people						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	28.4	31.8	19.3	12.5	8.0	60.2
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	22.5	37.7	22.5	11.4	5.9	60.2
44. Seeing Aborigines were here long before migrants, they ought to get jobs before migrants						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	35.6	25.6	23.3	11.1	4.4	61.2
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	13.8	20.3	30.7	24.1	11.0	35.1

34.1 35.1

The one issue on which there was complete agreement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal respondents was about discrimination. Sixty point two per cent of both groups believed that Australian people showed

discrimination when they employed people, in that they would rather not employ Aborigines.

Both groups supported the notion that Aborigines should merge with the general population. They did not believe they should try to be white (Statement 51), but they believed that, even while merging, Aborigines should form groups so that they could get somewhere. While the measure of support by non-Aborigines was less than that of Aborigines, the evidence does not support the assumptions of policy-makers and writers in the multi-cultural field that Aborigines place themselves outside the conceptual framework of a multicultural Australia. In the light of the response to the other statements, one can only interpret the responses as showing that Aborigines and non-Aborigines in the population studied believe that Aborigines should merge into the population without losing their Aboriginal identity.

This belief is at odds with the theorizing of the Government that places Aborigines outside the framework of the multicultural society.

There are two areas where there is a marked divergence of view. One is the question of Aborigines forming groups to get somewhere (69.6 per cent Aboriginal support, compared with 41.8 per cent non-Aboriginal support). The other is the question of Aborigines getting jobs before migrants.

Statement 44 had the strongest measure of agreement of all the responses on the part of Aborigines (35.6 per cent agreed strongly). Only one other statement, Aborigines should form strong groups to get somewhere, had a similar degree of support. The statement relating to positive discrimination in job opportunities is one heard very often in conversation with Aborigines. Gale (1972:34) noted the resentment Aborigines felt in the sixties towards the encouragement of migration rather than the provision of opportunities for Aborigines to gain skills. This resentment is still felt.

The promotion of a multicultural Australia currently fostered presents Aboriginal people with a problematic situation. On the one hand, they resent the coming of migrants who are seen to take jobs that could well be theirs. On the other hand, given a preoccupation with identity and culture, Aborigines are committed to a multicultural society, though not necessarily the form it takes in Australia.

22.4 Summary The objective reality of Aboriginal students in multicultural Australia

The world in which student urban[1] Aborigines in the study are contexted then, is one that, at the level of theorizing, supports multi-culturalism. Vietnamese should not try to leave their culture behind, Aborigines should not try to become white, it is good to have a mixture of cultures and to learn about other cultures. Even the admission of coloured people to Australia is accepted.

Employers are seen as discriminating against Aborigines. There is some measure of support for Aborigines getting jobs before migrants.

There is a 'theoretical' acceptance of multi-culturalism and an acceptance of Aborigines in a multicultural society. On the other hand,this acceptance is not consonant with the overwhelmingly negative stereotyping of Aborigines already discussed.

The question must be asked whether the negative stereotyping by officialdom reflects that of the 'world' of society in general holding sedimented knowledge of what 'everyone knows' about Aborigines, knowledge that is entirely negative.

It is posited that the support at a theoretical level reflects the world of education rather than the world of everyday life and the world of government legislation and policy. It was pointed out above that there is a fundamental difference in Schools Commission policy which looks to the possiblity of dual identity for ethnic people, which incorporates Aborigines into the multi-cultural perspective, and which encourages structural pluralism.

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[1]Urban refers both to Pt. Augusta and Adelaide.

It is concluded that, in the 'world of education' the ideology underlying Schools Commission policy is reflected both in South Australian State Government policy and local school policy, rather than the ideology underlying Federal Government policies. It is concluded that this explains the dissonance noted. It is posited that the positive theorizing of the schools makes feasible the construction of a positive identity for Aboriginal people. The positive self-typification of Aboriginal students has already been discussed.

Further evidence for this positive view of the Aboriginal self will now be sought in an examination of responses to Schedule II statements designed to show location of the self within the typologies of identity - ego-identity, identity-diffusion, negative identity.

CHAPTER XXIII

AREA III[1]: INTERACTION BETWEEN SELF AND SOCIETY, BETWEEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY - ABORIGINAL IDENTITIES MODELS II AND III

Nobody ever comes round just to be friends,
to talk to us as if we were people instead of Aborigines
(Dianne Barwick, in Reay, 1964:25).

I always found that if you didn't have a good boss,
actually you was nothing, an Aboriginal
(Betty Watson, in Gilbert, 1977:179).

23.1 Introduction

Berger (1971:96) asserts that every society contains a repertoire of identities that is part of the "objective knowledge" of its members[2].

As the individual is socialized "the objective reality, as defined by society, is subjectively appropriated". There is symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity.

It has been pointed out that for the Aboriginal person there are possibilities other than that symmetry or asymmetry with particular identities offered by the dominant group.

There is also the possibility not only of asymmetry, but of rejection of the identity offered, with the structuring of an alternative identity[3].

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[1]See p. 48 ff. above for an account of the theory underlying investigations in Area III.

[2]See page 48.

[3]Merton's (1968) essay "Social structure and Anomie" provides a framework for understanding processes of adaptation where there is a disjunction between the goals held out by society, and the means to attain them.

There is also the possibility of the minority group offering an identity which complements that offered by the wider society.

A scanning of Aboriginal writings allows the discernment of a number of different identities which Aboriginal people believe are offered to them, either by the dominant group or by Aboriginal society.

23.2 Identity in rejection

Berger and Luckmann posit that individuals interact with identities offered by society. However, identity is not only a matter of choice, but also of ascription. The identials that serve to anchor identity for one group may serve to socialize another not merely into an inferior identity, but into non-identity.

Throughout the literature, one encounters continually the perception of the Aborigine that he is not a person. The history of the race has been a saga of dehumanization. The Aborigine is stereotyped as a non-person. 'Jacky' is a generic, depersonalizing term.

In general, theories projected by the dominant society build identity with a positive strength for the white person. This is not true for the Aboriginal person, whether he locates himself within white society or Aboriginal society. Until the seventies, the identities which were offered by both societies were negative. Identity was formed through an interaction with a process of rejection from mainstream society.

23.3 Dual identity

Bullivant (1973:22) speaks of the possibility of a dual choice for the migrant child who becomes Italian at a certain fence paling on his way home from school. Such choices between assimilation, integration, and multi-culturalism are choices open to the migrant child and adult. They are not open to the Aboriginal child, because his colour, as an idential, locates him within a group that is nihilated by mainstream society.

23.4 'Passing'

'Passing' can be a choice for a migrant, followed by a corresponding commitment to the chosen society. 'Passing' in the case of the Aborigine is met with rejection by the socially constructed world into which he would choose to commit himself if such a choice were possible (Tatz,1975:9, 13). If this choice is made, he is forever the stranger (Wolff/Simmel,1950:402 ff.; Schutz, 1971:91 ff.), committed to anomie, to rejection from white society, while at the same time white society directly or indirectly urges him to accept the values and structures of white society.

23.5 Pseudo-Aborigines

Psychological theories of identity (e.g. Wheelis, 1959) identify choice and commitment as essential aspects of identity. In the urban situation, it would appear that the choice for the Aborigine has been towards becoming physically embedded in the constructions of the 'white' world, evidenced in the first instance by movement to the metropolitan area.

It has been pointed out that, in practice, if an Aboriginal person has positive characteristics he is classified by white society as not-Aboriginal. However, this does not mean he is accepted socially into white society.

Moreover, despite the fact that the Aboriginal individual locates himself physically in white society, he may locate the self, his identity in Aboriginal society.

When he then wishes to take advantage of positive discriminatory measures offered by the government, for example the Secondary Grants Scheme, to further his education, he is seen by whites as a pseudo-Aborigine.

On the other hand, at the same time that a particular group of Aboriginal people is labelled as pseudo-Aborigines by whites, they are labelled as pseudo-whites by Aborigines.

23.6 Pseudo-white

> *.... it is only when you become part of the white society that you become an outcast, a black man, or an Aboriginal. In your own community you are just another person. It is only when you walk in the white world that you become a freak, a novelty* (Coe, in Tatz, ed., 1975:106).

At the Commonwealth games in Brisbane, in October, 1982, Senator Bonner proclaimed himself 'an elder' of his tribe when trying to legitimate his authority to persuade activists against an illegal street march.

He was jeered at as an 'Uncle Tom' by young Aboriginal activists.

Gilbert and other Aborigines condemn the pseudo-white, the stool pigeon, the creature of the government.

> They are a people without identity because that identity has been debased and demeaned. You kick a man, kick a man's culture long enough and he will be ashamed of that image. He will try to pass himself off as a white man. He will try to deny his black heritage - his black association. He becomes a 'pseudo-white' (Gilbert, in Tatz, 1975:9).

These bitter statements may very well be a confession of personal attempt at entering white society with the experience of acceptance on one level as a 'trained pseudo-white' and rejection at another level as being a real part of white society. It is the experience of a world of 'multiple realities' not in the sense which Schutz speaks (Schutz, 1973:207 ff., 339) but in the sense in which there is not one world, tout court, but an array of worlds, of socially constructed meanings, almost all of them with negative connotations for Aborigines, all offering different identities.

23.7 Negative identity

As a group, Aboriginal people have been acted upon, in the sense

that even when the Aboriginal people have shown rebellion and resistance, such rebellion found issue in a negative identity. It was not a rebellion that rejected the identity offered in order to forge an alternative identity.

Socialization into negative identity may be seen as the result of actively embracing a model of rebellion, the negative identity offered by white society.

Drinking, for example, and going to jail may be seen as the assertion of maleness in a society where the traditional role of the male has been destroyed.

Jeremy Beckett noted, in a community he studied, that inebriation for men was seen as a positive value (in Reay, 1964:41) and a sign of adult male status (ibid:43).

Erikson (1943) similarly suggests that people would rather do something bad to show that they exist than be nothing[1].

The remark was made on a number of occasions in interviews with Aboriginal people that strength of mind could well result in negative actions.

For some, negative identity is willingly embraced as the alternative to anomie.

23.8 Identity as the 'handicapped'

Over and above the prejudice and discrimination on grounds of race and ethnicity which Aborigines share with migrants, Aborigines also form part of the handicapped in society (Newman, 1973:34-35; 216-218; 233-234) who are made visible by their handicap (in this case skin colour) and therefore an affront to society (Tatz, 1975:13).

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[1] See p. 32 above.

Newman discusses this problem of the handicapped. He asserts that

> the most important social limitations of blindness are not those that result from the inability to see; the limitations imposed by the prejudices and reactions of the wider society are the most damaging. The handicapped are viewed as undesirable in all spheres of American society. Physical minorities are usually relegated to obscure positions in society. In this way, most individuals with visible handicaps become both dependent upon, and marginal to, society (Newman, 1973, 34-35).

In examining the notion of identity as integration into a group, it could be postulated that many urban Aborigines find their identity in rejection from mainstream society because they are handicapped.

Fields says

> There is nothing in the Aboriginal society of 1971 to be proud of: to be born an Aboriginal is a handicap they must live with all their lives. There is nothing in Aboriginal society with which to realise security. I am a handicapped person requiring special benefits to help me survive (Fields, in Tatz, 1975:13).

The identity of 'the handicapped' is a very real one offered to Aboriginal people.

23.9 Anomie

> God heroes and spirit beings, who inhabited the earth before man was created laid down the law. They laid down the orderly process for a community to develop and to survive (Gilbert, in Tatz, ed., 1975:8).

The disintegration of these structures, through 'colonization', 'theft of land', imposition of a role of passivity has led, in Gilbert's view, to structures bringing about anomie.

The Aborigines are 'people without a purpose'. They are neither white nor Aborigine.

> They know very well they cannot be treated as a white man, because they are *not* and they are never treated as a white man. They cannot be Aborigines, because they don't know what it is to be culturally identified. They are a people without purpose and meaning in life (ibid:9).

For Gilbert, the Aborigine is alienated from his own identity

> This type of chaos, this human pain and confusion, results in loss of identity, loss of confidence in identity (ibid:9).

Paul Coe theorizes about 'metho drinking' as a symptom of despair:

> ...a manifestation of a cause, the alienation of people from the land, the alienation of people from their own culture, people denied any right to decide their own future, denied the basic powers every white man has in the country (Paul Coe, in Tatz, 1975:104).

Cries of pain and confusion such as these, proclaiming a loss of identity, a loss of culture, a loss of the ability to control one's destiny, are evidence of a deeply perceived feeling of anomie.

23.10 The location of Aborigines in mainstream society

The case of Aborigines in some ways appears similar to that of the Stranger, described by Schutz (1971), looking into an alien society, trying to establish how to enter it.

However, the essential difference is that, in Australian society, the dominant group displays its values at the level of rhetoric, and encourages the minority group to participate. 'Aborigines will choose to live like other Australians'. 'We will not have a race within a race'.

Australia has actively encouraged a policy of assimilation/ integration. It is only when the individual tries to enter, applies for a job or housing, that the door is closed in his face, the offer removed.

> I find that job opportunities for Aboriginal children after they leave school are very limited, even in the metropolitan area. An Aboriginal person (and I have witnessed it many times because I have applied for jobs) sees 'Position vacant'. They don't even bother asking you such things as where you worked before. They say, "What's your education?""Fifth-form education, into Tech. College, studied electrical engineering." "Well, look, I'm sorry but the position is taken". So you

> walk out, go around and ring the same place and say "I'm applying for the position I see you have advertised"; "Oh yes, do come in". Then you walk back and confront them. Now they have to offer you a job. Either that or you start suing for discrimination (Michael Anderson, in Tatz, 1975:18-19).

Housing, employment, ordinary socialising - all are situations structured for rejection.

The handicapped (including, and especially, the Aborigines) are to be encouraged to internalize the goals of society, but the means of reaching these are denied.

Discrimination against minority groups does not appear to be a factor allowed for in Berger's scheme. His typology allows for choice, not rejection.

The identity offered to Aboriginal people is perceived by them in negative terms.

The research findings of the present study have shown that this is consonant with contemporary typifications of Aborigines by non-Aborigines in the school situation.

Nevertheless, the typification of the Aboriginal *self* in the research findings was positive.

The research results have shown that interaction *for the self* has not taken place with the negative typifications of the peer group in schools, and the negative typifications of the wider society.

Negative typifications were internalised for Aborigines in general, but not for the self.

It is posited that, in the multiple 'worlds' offering identity, students have interacted with the positive theorizing of the schools, and the positive theorizing of Aboriginal adults; the latter, in turn, was seen as the result of interaction with positive theorizing of governments since the early seventies.

It is proposed now to attempt to establish whether or not the negative and anomic identities offered to Aborigines by mainstream society, and internalized by young adults in the literature available, are in fact accepted by the students in the school situation.

CHAPTER XXIV

TYPOLOGIES OF IDENTITY : MODELS II AND III

24.1 Introduction

The possibilities open to urban Aborigines in the choice of identity were seen to be

Ego-identity	-	appropriation of a positive objective reality
Negative identity	-	interaction with the negative typification of white society in general and/or interaction with negative typifications institutionalised in Aboriginal society
Identity-diffusion	-	the inability to form an identity, due to the pressures of competing universes of meaning.

It was proposed to use Erikson's typologies of identity[1] in order to organize the study of the subjective appropriation of Aboriginal identity. The research questions and hypotheses relevant to this question will be found on page 51. The following hypothesis was advanced:

> Hypothesis 3.1a
>
> It is hypothesized that Aboriginal students will manifest characteristics of identity-diffusion or negative identity.

24.2 Components of ego-identity

24.21 Trust/distrust-expectation of rejection

The components of ego-identity are set out above[2]. The particular areas of trust/distrust, autonomy lack of autonomy and functional constancy will be examined through a study of Schedule II statements.

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[1] See p. 31 ff. above.

[2] See pp. 30-31, 33.

These statements were composed to reflect the subjective correlates of identity delineated by Erikson and de Levita[1]. The statements were taken from interview situations with Aboriginal people, and as far as possible, reflect the phraseology used. Erikson (1977) emphasises the importance of trust as a basis for a positive identity. In the interaction of everyday life, trust makes possible the distancing of oneself from the possibility of anomie, since trust allows one to predict the behaviour of others, and hence allows one to articulate and project into the future one's own course of action.

In sociological terms everyday life contains typificatory schemes through which others are apprehended, and patterns of behaviour formulated (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:45). It is one of the problems of the 'stranger' to a society that he cannot come to grips with the typificatory schemes held by the host society.

These typificatory schemes, based in trust, described by Erikson, accord with Berger and Luckmann's definition of social structure. Social structure "is the sum total of these typifications and of the recurrent patterns of interaction established by means of them" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:48).

24.21 (i) Trust

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aboriginal people would be socialized into a negative identity. It was therefore projected that Aboriginal people would support statements reflecting distrust and expectation of rejection.

The following statements offered, for agreement or disagreement, typifications of actors in the everyday world of educational institutions.

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[1]See pp. 33-34.

Trust/distrust

Statement

3. It's no good trusting people - they only want something out of you.

38. I just can't see where my future is or what will happen to me.

45. I know if I work hard now I will get benefits later.

Expectation of rejection

Statement

7. It's no good asking help from teachers. They are not really interested.

26. It's no good asking people in authority to help. They don't care.

29. I think everyone has to look after himself. There's no point expecting help from others.

18. People in our suburb are friendly and willing to help if you need them.

54. If you make an effort, people will help you.

36. If I had a chance I would go to another school where they cared for me as a person.

(b) Trust/distrust - theorizing statements

The stereotype of the 'white' from Aboriginal literature is that of a person who cannot be trusted[1].

One of the chief characteristics of 'Australians', as seen by Aborigines in Schedule I responses[2], was that they were trustworthy. However, it was hypothesized that Aborigines would show distrust of people in everyday life situations.

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[1]See Appendix IX.

[2]See p. 350.

24.21 (i)
(c)

TABLE 30

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 3, - trust/distrust

		Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Statement							
3. It's no good trusting people - they only want something out of you							(disagree)
Aboriginal response	(N=93)	8.7	21.7	33.7	30.4	5.4	35.8
Non-Aboriginal response	(N=289)	4.4	15.4	30.2	40.3	9.7	50.0

24.21 (i)
(d) Discussion

There was some support for this statement. However, over one-third of the group rejected the notion of not trusting people because they would be 'used' by others. The distribution of views (agree, 30.4 per cent; not sure, 33.7 per cent; disagree, 35.8 per cent) suggests that this is an area of uncertainty for Aboriginal people whose history has taught them not to trust others. There was some evidence to support the hypothesis.

24.21 (ii) Prediction of the future

In the literature on identity, prediction of the future is seen as one of the components of trust. Typifications of the actions of others which are verified in real life encounters, allow one to predict the behaviour of others, and hence to project into the future patterns of behaviour for oneself.

A sense of a lack of knowledge of what the future holds, a feeling of inability to predict what the next few steps will be, is often articulated by Aboriginal people. Often this 'lack of future-orientation' is advanced by the white world as a reason for Aborigines being 'wasteful with money', unable to plan ahead, unable to see ahead. The following statements addressed the perception of the ability to predict the future.

24.21 (ii)

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would be present-oriented, unable to see where their future lies, unwilling to work now for benefits that may never come.

24.21 (ii)

(b)

TABLE 31

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 38 and 45 - prediction of future

		Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Statement							
38. I can't see where my future is, or what will happen to me							(disagree)
Aboriginal response	(N=93)	6.6	19.8	41.8	26.4	5.5	31.9
Non-Aboriginal response	(N=289)	12.3	31.1	31.4	19.8	5.5	43.4 (agree)
45. I know if I work now I will get benefits later							(agree)
Aboriginal response	(N=93)	13.2	38.5	35.2	11.0	2.2	51.7
Non-Aboriginal response	(N=289)	29.4	41.9	20.8	5.9	2.0	71.3

24.21 (ii)

(c) Discussion

Twenty-six per cent of Aboriginal respondents agreed that they could not see where their future lay. However 43.4 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed with the statement, a much higher proportion of support than that given by Aborigines. Fifty-one point seven per cent of Aborigines and 71.3 per cent of non-Aborigines held that if they work now, they will get benefits later in the unknown future.

The hypothesis that Aboriginal people would not be oriented to the future was not supported.

However, it must be noted that while there was clear support for working hard for the future on the part of Aborigines, there was a manifest difference in the weight of support given to this notion by the two groups.

The Aboriginal group, though believing in future benefits, was less oriented in this direction than the non-Aboriginal group.

24.21 (iii) Expectation of rejection

Allied to distrust is the expectation of rejection.

24.21(iii) (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aboriginal responses would exhibit strong perceptions of rejection by mainstream society.

TABLE 32

24.21 (iii) (b) Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 7, 26, 29, 18, 54, 36 - expectation of rejection

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
7. It is no good asking help from teachers						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	9.9	11.0	20.9	37.4	20.9	58.3
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	9.5	13.9	12.9	45.4	18.3	63.7
26. It's no good asking people in authority to help						(disagree)
Aboriginal response	5.7	13.6	37.5	40.9	2.3	43.2
Non-Aboriginal response	6.1	11.5	33.8	39.5	9.1	48.6
29. I think everyone has to look after himself. There's no point expecting help from others						(dis- (agree) agree
Aboriginal response	6.6	34.1	22.0	29.7	7.7	40.7/37.4
Non-Aboriginal response	10.5	21.8	24.1	35.0	8.5	32.3/43.3
18. People in our suburb are friendly and willing to help						(agree)
Aboriginal response	5.6	37.1	30.3	16.9	10.1	42.7
Non-Aboriginal response	14.3	38.4	25.9	14.6	6.8	52.7
54. If you make an effort people will help						(agree)
Aboriginal response	23.3	45.6	25.6	3.3	2.2	68.9
Non-Aboriginal response	26.6	51.2	15.6	4.5	2.1	77.8
36. If I had a chance I would go to another school where they cared about you as a person						(disagree)
Aboriginal response	9.0	20.2	23.6	39.3	7.9	47.2
Non-Aboriginal response	8.2	12.3	26.0	38.4	15.1	53.5

24.21 (iii) (c) Discussion

The majority of Aborigines rejected the notion that it is no good asking help from teachers (58.3 per cent disagreed, 20.9 per cent agreed). People in authority in general evoked a less definite response.

Forty-three point two per cent of Aborigines rejected the notion that it was no good asking help from people in authority, (19.3 per cent agreed). Forty-two point seven per cent believed people in their suburb were friendly and willing to help, 27 per cent disagreed. Sixty-eight point nine per cent believed people would help if the individual made an effort; only 5.5 per cent disagreed. Forty-seven point two per cent rejected the notion that they were not cared about as a person and would wish to change their school.

The pattern of Aboriginal response paralleled the non-Aboriginal response, though the latter was a stronger response in each case.

Thus the following picture emerges, both for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, when the statements are all worded positively:

If one makes an effort, people will help.
(68.9 per cent of Aborigines and 77.8 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed.
The proposition was strongly upheld by 23.3 per cent and 26.6 per cent, respectively).

Teachers will help.
(58.3 per cent of Aborigines agreed, 20.9 per cent agreed strongly. 63.7 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed, 18.3 per cent of these agreed strongly).

People care about me as a person at school.
(47.2 per cent of Aborigines and 53.5 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed).

It is worth asking help from people in authority.
(43.2 per cent of Aborigines and 48.6 per cent of non-Aborigines supported this).

People in the suburbs are friendly and willing to help.
(42.7 per cent of Aborigines and, 52.7 per cent of non- Aborigines agreed).

The hypothesis that Aborigines would give responses showing perception of rejection was not supported.

The stereotype found in the literature that teachers, neighbours, people in authority are prejudiced and discriminate against Aborigines was not held by a large proportion of the respondents. The stereotype of Aboriginal people as passive, dependent, was not held by this group who believed that fighting for themselves, making an effort themselves was a pre-requisite for help from others.

The surprising difference of views between Aborigines and non-Aborigines was on the question of feeling security in seeing where their future lay; 43.4 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed that they couldn't see what their future would bring. Only 26.4 per cent of Aborigines agreed with this (p. 404).

Apart from this one area, the pattern of response was similar, though with greater strength of view on the part of non-Aborigines.

The evidence suggests that there is not a striking difference between Aborigines and non-Aborigines in the typification of actors in the world around them, particularly actors in the educational world.

The difference lies in a greater coherence of view on the part of non-Aborigines.

24.22 Autonomy/lack of autonomy

(i) Individual autonomy

The feeling of autonomy in one's life is held to be an important element of identity. Talcott Parsons (1968) avers that the possibility of making choices, of being able to commit oneself, is essential to the building of identity.

Conversely, a lack of autonomy is defined as the perception that life is happening to the individual rather than being lived on his own initiative.

A lack of autonomy, the perception that one is never in control of one's life, is a concomitant of anomie and identity-diffusion.

The stereotype of the Aborigine in literature and in typifications by the student population was of one who is passive, dependent, having no purpose in life, no motivation.

24.22 (i)

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would support those statements showing a lack of autonomy.

24.22 (i)

(b)

TABLE 33

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 22 and 52 - individual autonomy

	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Statement						
22. Whatever people think me now, I can always change						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	6.7	43.3	28.9	17.8	3.3	50.1
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	11.9	38.4	29.6	14.6	5.4	50.0
52. If you want to get on in the world you have to fight for yourself						(agree)
Aboriginal response	21.3	31.5	18.0	15.7	13.5	52.8
Non-Aboriginal response	18.2	43.6	20.6	12.0	5.5	61.8

24.22 (i)

(c) Discussion

The notion of changing oneself, having a degree of control over one's self,wassupported by 50 per cent of the non-Aboriginal sample and 50.1 per cent of the Aboriginal sample.

The notion of fighting for oneself was supported by 52.8 per cent of the Aboriginal respondents and 61.8 per cent of non-Aboriginal respondents.

The notion of survival, fighting for survival, fighting for oneself, is found often in conversing with Aboriginal people, and occurs frequently in their writings. Statement 52 found support for this attitude and denied the stereotype of dependence on others.

The hypothesis advanced that Aborigines would show a lack of autonomy was not supported.

The response to statements in these areas of autonomy for the individual, the belief in the possibility of changing oneself, of fighting for oneself, leads to a further questioning of the image of Aborigines as passive. For this group, there is a belief held by a large proportion, and indeed a proportion equal to that of non-Aborigines, that it is possible to get on in the world by fighting for oneself, and that it is possible to change.

24.22 (ii) Group autonomy

Linked to the idea of personal autonomy is that of group autonomy, of the possibility of the group interacting with the world to change it.

24.22 (ii)

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would wish to form groups 'to get somewhere' and that they would reject the notion of moving away from kinship grouping, since this is held to be such a strong

value in their way of life.

24.22 (ii)

(b)

TABLE 34

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 31 and 16 - autonomy for people as a group

		Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Statement							
31. I think Aborigines should form stronger groups among themselves so they can get somewhere							
Aboriginal response	(N=93)	34.8	34.8	12.4	7.9	10.1	69.6 (agree)
Non-Aboriginal response	(N=289)	13.0	28.8	32.5	13.0	12.7	41.8
16. It's no good keeping in with relations. They are always fighting with each other. It's better to get out by yourself							
Aboriginal response		14.3	30.8	23.1	23.1	8.8	45.1 (agree)
Non-Aboriginal response		9.1	24.7	28.0	27.0	11.1	38.1 (disagree)

24.22 (ii)

(c) Discussion

Statement 31 received strong support. Sixty-nine point six per cent of respondents agreed that Aborigines should form stronger groups; of these 34.8 per cent *agreed strongly*. Thus, while there

is a belief that Aborigines should merge with the population[1], there is also a strong belief that they should form groups for their own advancement. This view was also supported by non-Aborigines, though not with the same strength of response.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would wish to form groups to get somewhere was supported.

Statement 16 was one of the few cases where, in response to Schedule II statements, Aborigines and non-Aborigines had conflicting view points.

Forty-five per cent of Aborigines *agreed* that it's better to get out by yourself and move away from relatives. Thirty-one point nine per cent disagreed.

The order was reversed in the case of non-Aborigines. Thirty-eight point one per cent disagreed, compared with 33.8 per cent who agreed.

The notion of Aborigines 'moving out' is supported in the writings of Gale and Wundersitz, quoted above[2].

The responses to the two statements, on behalf of Aborigines, are at first sight contradictory: item 16, 'It is no good keeping in with relatives', in particular seems to contradict the notion of forming groups. However, the reasoning could be set out as follows.

> Aborigines should merge with the population in standard of living, housing, employment. However this does not mean that one denies one's Aboriginality. On the contrary, Aborigines should form groups so that they can get somewhere. Merging with the population is easier if those relatives who are always fighting with each other do not apply pressure to draw one back to a depressed standard and style of living. Gaining a power base from which to advance the cause of Aborigines is easier if one's energies are not dissipated and one's reputation is not endangered by interaction with relatives who fight among themselves.

---

[1] See p. 379 above.

[2] See p. 287 above.

Internal evidence from Statements 46, 34, 33 and 41 below (pp.416-17) indicates that Aborigines in the study do not deny their Aboriginality in the sense of being ashamed. What they seek to avoid is a particular Aboriginal sub-culture of poverty.

This response would seem to attack the commonly held view that being beholden to relatives is a particularly Aboriginal value, and in fact is often the cause of a low standard of living.

The desire to move out, whether or not this course is espoused in reality, indicates that kinship allegiance, in some cases, rather than being held as a value, is felt as an oppression. Thus a value that is held to be 'what everyone knows' for Aborigines, namely their attachment to tightly knit kinship groups, is in fact a value supported by non-Aborigines to a greater extent than Aborigines.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would respond positively to statements linking them into kinship groups was not supported.

24.23 Strain towards negative identity

De Levita[1] (1965) notes the strain towards delinquency that is often the expression of an assertion of personhood - it is better to be a delinquent than to be nothing. It is the option to choose a negative identity in terms of the definitions given above[2]. This view was expressed in interviews by Aboriginal adults, looking back at a time when they were uncertain of their identity and felt rejected by the white society in which they were trying to establish themselves. There is a high proportional representation of Aboriginal people in delinquency statistics (Bailey, 1980).

24.23 (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that there would be support for the statement choosing negative identity rather than identity-diffusion.

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[1] See p. 34.

[2] See pp. 31-32.

24.23

(b) TABLE 35

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 32 - strain towards negative identity

	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Statement						
32. Sometimes I feel like doing something bad just to show I exist						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	3.4	20.2	15.7	46.1	14.6	60.7
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	9.2	23.7	18.3	34.6	14.2	48.8

24.23 (c) Discussion

The majority of Aborigines (60.7 per cent) attested that they did not have this feeling. Nevertheless, a sizeable group (23.6 per cent) agreed with this statement, 3.4 per cent agreeing strongly[1].

For the majority of Aborigines in the group, there was no evidence of socialization into a negative identity as measured by their response to this statement[2]. *The hypothesis was not supported.*

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[1]It must be noted that throughout, while there has been major support for statements that do *not* show negative identity, identity-diffusion, there is a group which *do* show these characteristics. These students will be the subject of a separate study.

[2]A scanning of other responses shows that there is not, in fact, a strain towards identity-diffusion on the part of Aborigines. Responses to Statement 39, p. 419 below, show that the Aboriginal response is one of believing that they are important to people, they would be missed.

In point of fact, in this area the Aboriginal response was more positive than that of non-Aborigines - 32.9 per cent of the latter, compared with 23.6 per cent of Aborigines, agreed that they felt like doing something bad to show that they existed; 48.8 per cent of non-Aborigines disagreed with this statement, compared with 60.7 per cent of the Aboriginal population.

The Aboriginal students in the educational system did not show a marked strain towards delinquency that one would expect, given the statistics showing the overrepresentation of Aborigines as juvenile delinquents.

24.24 Functional constancy

Functional constancy is defined as the feeling of occupying a place of one's own in the community.

As such, it is central to the definition of identity[1] where identity is seen as the perception of self-sameness by oneself and others, and the location of oneself in a specific social structure. The following statements relate to location in family structures and to functional constancy.

24.24 (i) Location within a family structure

Statement

33. We have lots of family get-togethers that are fun.
41. I have lots of relations I can count on when I need help.
46. I often feel ashamed of my family.
34. Sometimes I wish I had different parents.

The lack of functional constancy is reflected in the feelings of being a non-person.

---

[1] See p. 36 above.

4. Sometimes I feel like I don't exist, that I don't matter to anyone.

39. I don't really feel anyone thinks I'm important. No-one would really miss me.

24.24 (i)

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would see themselves contexted more strongly into family and kin structures than non-Aborigines.

24.24 (i)

(b) TABLE 36

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 41 and 33 - functional constancy within the family

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
41. I have lots of relations I can count on when I need help						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	11.1	44.4	25.6	13.3	5.6	55.5
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	13.1	38.3	18.3	22.4	7.9	51.4
33. We have lots of family get-togethers that are fun						(agree)
Aboriginal response	13.5	46.1	21.3	13.5	5.6	59.6
Non-Aboriginal response	15.0	35.8	14.3	24.6	10.2	50.8

(c) Discussion

The hypothesis that the Aboriginal students would see themselves integrated into a family situation was supported. The majority felt secure that there were relations who could be counted on for help when the need arose.

Much the same pattern is found in the case of non-Aborigines, though there was rather less degree of support.

24.24 (ii) Attitudes towards parents

(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aboriginal responses would reveal a sense of shame about their families.

(b) TABLE 37

Comparison of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal response to Statements 46 and 34 - attitudes to family

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
46. I often feel ashamed of my family						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N= 93)	2.3	5.7	9.1	47.7	35.2	82.9
Non-Aboriginal response (N= 289)	5.6	11.8	14.6	37.5	30.6	68.1
34. Sometimes I wish I had different parents						(disagree)
Aboriginal response	1.1	16.7	8.9	31.1	42.2	73.3
Non-Aboriginal response	10.0	20.7	10.7	28.3	30.3	58.6

(c) Discussion

Given the negative stereotype of Aborigines in general, and the strain in the group towards merging with the general population[1], a high degree of rejection of origins might be expected. This was not the case. Eighty-two point nine per cent of Aborigines disagreed with Statement 46, and the option for the 'safe' middle ground was small (9.1 per cent). Only 8 per cent agreed with the statement. Similarly 73.3 per cent rejected the notion of wishing they had different parents. The Aboriginal response was markedly stronger than the non-Aboriginal response. Eighty-two point nine per cent of Aborigines were *not* ashamed of their family compared with 68.1 per cent of non-Aborigines. Seventy-three point three per cent of Aborigines did *not* wish they had different parents compared with 58.6 per cent of non-Aborigines.

Location within one's *immediate* family was more strongly supported than location within kin groups. Pride in one's family and parents received greater support from the Aboriginal group.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would be ashamed of their parents was not supported.

It is posited that, on the contrary, there is evidence of pride in Aboriginality - evidence of functional constancy, of perceiving a secure place of one's own in the social fabric.

24.3 Identity-diffusion

24.31 Feeling of being a non-person

A lack of functional constancy, the inability to locate oneself in a community leads to identity-diffusion - the inability to form a stable identity. Indications of this, according to de Levita (1965:170), are found in feelings of being a non-person, a looking to others (even psychiatrists) to affirm one's reality, an overall feeling of shame. Where one is firmly located in a community one has the feeling that this is the only reality that can be - there is no other.

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[1]See p. 379.

Where there is identity-diffusion there is a wishing that one's parents had been different, a feeling of shame in connection with one's family. The feeling of being a non-person is investigated in Statements 4 and 39.

24.31 (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that, given the exclusion of Aborigines from the theoretical framework of multi-culturalism and the history of rejection of the race by whites, Aborigines would support statements expressing the feeling of being a non-person.

24.31 (b) TABLE 38

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 4 and 39 - feeling of being a non-person

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
4. Sometimes I feel like I don't exist - that I don't matter to anyone						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	4.4	25.6	23.3	35.6	11.1	46.7
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	14.1	29.3	23.9	23.9	8.8	43.4 (agree)
39. I don't really feel anyone thinks I'm important. No-one would really miss me						(disagree)
Aboriginal response	5.5	4.4	24.2	53.8	12.1	65.9
Non-Aboriginal response	7.6	17.9	24.1	41.9	8.6	50.5

24.3 (c) Discussion

The responses to Statement 39 (65.9 per cent of Aborigines

disagreed, 50.5 per cent of non-Aborigines disagreed) show a large group of Aborigines who supported the view that they *were* seen as important and would be missed.

Statement 4 responses showed 46.7 per cent of Aborigines who felt they *did* matter to people. It was the non-Aboriginal group which gave a negative response to this statement. Forty-three point four per cent of non-Aborigines agreed that sometimes they felt they didn't matter to anyone.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would see themselves as being a non-person, someone who did not matter, was not supported.

This was not so in the case of non-Aborigines.

24.32 Confirmation of identity by others

De Levita maintains that adolescents are primarily concerned with consolidating social roles - sometimes being

> ...morbidly, often curiously preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others compared with what they feel they are. The sense of ego-identity is the accrued confidence that one's own ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity, one's ego, in a psychological sense, is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others (de Levita, 1965:62).

Thus the young person looks for continuity of regard: but for this he needs continuity in his own life.

Statement 24 addresses this question.

24.32 (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that there would be a spread of responses to Statement 24.

24.32 (b) TABLE 39

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 24 - the confirming of identity by others

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
24. I wish I knew what people think of me						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	18.7	50.5	23.1	5.5	2.2	69.2
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	30.3	44.2	16.7	7.8	1.0	74.5

24.32 (c) Discussion

The hypothesis was not supported.

Both Aborigines and non-Aborigines agreed that they wished they knew what people thought of them (30.3 per cent of non-Aborigines agreed strongly).

These responses can be seen on the part of Aborigines not as evidence of uncertainty of identity, but evidence of an orientation to social integration, a wishing to have one's identity confirmed by others, a notion basic to sociological theory on the social construction of identity (Berger, 1971:194ff.) and to psychological theory on identity formation.

The point to notice here is that the response of Aborigines was not greater than that of non-Aborigines - there was no support for the notion that they were over-occupied with this problem.

24.33 Strain towards withdrawal

The desire to do something bad to prove one's existence was seen as a mark of socialization into a negative identity, an identity capable of initiative but in negative ways.

Withdrawal is taken as being associated with identity-diffusion.

The desire to withdraw from society, to hide, is discussed by de Levita (1965:170).

> The importance of being seen by another is deeply rooted in psychology. The shame which this being seen can arouse in man is expressed in a preformed physiological mechanism (de Levita, 1965:169).

Erikson also maintains that withdrawal is associated with being 'seen' by others.

> Shame supposes that one is completely exposed and conscious of being looked at. Shame is expressed in an impulse to bury one's face, or to sink right then and there, into the ground (Erikson, 1977:277).

The desire to withdraw may be seen in any group (e.g. adolescents) not fully integrated into society.

Aboriginal people refer to the fact that they can 'feel people looking at them' as a visible indication of prejudice.

It could be expected that the distinguishing marks of colour and physical characteristics which mark off Aborigines would result in an added impetus for them to feel a need to withdraw.

24.33(a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would support the statement that they wished they could hide from people's sight, and that this support would be greater than that of non-Aboriginal students.

24.33(b) TABLE 40

. Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 14 - strain towards withdrawal

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
14. I often feel people looking at me and I wish I could hide so that they couldn't see me						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	6.6	15.4	22.0	41.8	14.3	56.1
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	8.5	22.5	23.5	36.5	8.9	45.4

(c) Discussion

More than half the Aboriginal group (56.1 per cent) rejected the statement. Forty-five point four per cent of non-Aborigines also rejected the statement. However, it is interesting to note that 31.0 per cent of non-Aborigines *did* feel people looking at them, and wished they could hide, compared with 22 per cent of Aborigines.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would strongly support the statement that they wished they could hide so that people could not see them was not supported.

24.34 Strain towards withdrawal in the school situation

The strain towards withdrawal in the world of education is seen also in drop-out from school, a giving up of effort.

The following statements look for evidence of this particular aspect of functional constancy.

24.34 (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would show a more marked tendency to withdraw than non-Aborigines.

24.34 (b) TABLE 41

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 2, 6, 30, 9, 20, 28 - strain towards withdrawal in the school situation

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
2. The best way to get a job is trying hard at school						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	27.2	48.9	10.9	9.8	3.3	76.1
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	32.0	48.1	10.1	8.4	1.3	80.1
6. It's no good staying on at school to get a job						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	4.4	4.4	26.4	39.6	25.3	64.9
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	4.0	11.1	19.8	41.3	23.8	65.0
30. I only come to school because I have to. There's no real point						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	5.6	9.0	10.1	52.8	22.4	75.2
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	5.4	10.2	10.9	44.9	28.6	73.5
9. No matter how hard I try at school I won't get a job						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	2.2	12.1	26.4	44.0	15.4	59.4
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	2.7	7.1	26.2	41.5	22.4	63.9
20. I don't worry about getting a job. I know I'll end up on the dole						(disagree
Aboriginal response (N=93)	3.3	3.3	18.9	53.3	21.1	74.4
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	2.4	3.4	9.1	48.3	36.8	85.1
28. If things get hard at school I give up. There's no point in trying						(disagree
Aboriginal response (N=93)	2.2	12.2	20.0	44.4	21.1	65.5
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	3.4	9.9	10.3	49.7	26.7	76.4

24.34 (c) Discussion

Responses to Statement 30 show that the 75.2 per cent of Aborigines rejected the notion that they went to school only because they had to. While attendance at school may have a point in numbers of ways, information was sought in particular on whether a connection was seen between schooling and obtaining a job. Sixty-four point nine per cent of Aborigines believed that there was a point in staying on at school to get a job (Statement 6). Seventy-six point one per cent agreed that the best way to get a job was through trying hard at school (Statement 2). Fifty nine point four per cent rejected the statement that no matter how hard they tried, they wouldn't get a job.

For the majority of Aboriginal respondents, schooling was valued in itself and was seen as connected with obtaining a job. There was obviously a high degree of positive belief in the value of schooling, and in the interest of teachers[1]. Responses to Statement 20 showed a positive attitude to the hope of getting a job, strongly rejecting (74.4 per cent) acceptance of ending up on the dole, a surprising response in view of the high unemployment rate in the eighties.

Sixty five point five per cent rejected the notion that they would give up if things got difficult at school. Withdrawal, giving up hope, was rejected by the majority of the group.

Non-Aborigines reflected the same views. There was support for seeing the school as having value in itself (73.5 per cent). School was seen as providing the avenue for employment (80.1 per cent). There was a rejection of ending up on the dole (85.1 per cent) and giving up when things get hard (76.21 per cent).

The two groups came very close together on support for Statements 2, 6, 30, 9, which touched on the value of schooling both in itself and as a means to employment.

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[1]See Statement 7, p. 406 above.

On Statements 20 and 28, more non-Aborigines than Aborigines rejected the notion of ending up on the dole and giving up. Nevertheless, there was a high level of rejection by both groups.

The hypothesis of Aborigines seeing themselves as 'giving up' readily was not supported.

There was little difference between the two groups in terms of expression of withdrawal. In fact, both groups showed majority support for positive views.

24.4 Summary

The Aboriginal responses showed the greatest strength in location within the family. They disagreed *strongly* that they felt ashamed of their family, that they wished they had different parents. On both these questions, the response was markedly stronger than that of the non-Aboriginal students.

Aboriginal students believed that they had lots of relatives who could help them; they claimed to have lots of family get-togethers. The *strength* of this agreement was less than on questions relating to their family (42.2 per cent *disagreed strongly* that they would rather have different parents, compared with 11.1 per cent who *agreed strongly* that they had relations they could count on, and 13.5 per cent who *agreed strongly* that they had lots of family get-togethers).

It would appear to be the nuclear family, rather than the extended family, that is the focus for allegiance and support.

This interpretation is borne out by the fact that 45.1 per cent of Aboriginal people agreed that 'it is better to move out by yourself'.

On the question of location in society and in the school (Table 32) responses were positive, but less positive than the non-Aboriginal response.

There was less sense of security in the location in mainstream society, than in the home (Table 32). While the responses did not

show expectation of rejection, they had less strength than responses about the home.

Responses predicting the future (Table 31)were also less certain, and the responses to 'working hard to get benefits later' were less certain than the non-Aboriginal responses.

Trusting others (Table 30) showed an even less certain response.

While there was uncertainty in interaction with the wider society, the school manifestly provides a sense of security (Table 40).

The Aboriginal students gave the same (high) response to the school situation as did non-Aborigines. Both groups denied that they only went to school because they had to; both groups denied that 'it's no good staying at school to get a job'; both groups agreed that the best way to get a job was by trying hard at school; both groups rejected the idea that they would end up on the dole.

The students' responses show a sense of autonomy.

Table 32 gives a positive Aboriginal response to the statement that if you make an effort people will help (68.9 per cent Aboriginal response, 77.8 per cent non-Aboriginal).

Sixty-nine point six per cent of Aborigines believed they should form groups to get somewhere (Table 34). Both groups (Table 33) had limited support for the notion of being able to change *themselves*.

Aboriginal students rejected the notion (Table 38) that they weren't important, no-one would miss them (65.9 per cent compared with non-Aborigines 50.5 per cent).

They rejected the notion that they sometimes felt like doing something bad to show they existed (Table 35). Sixty-point seven per cent rejected this notion, compared with 48.8 per cent of non-Aborigines.

While responses differ in their *strength*, overall, the majority response in each instance (with the exception of moving out from relatives) was positive. Even this latter response is a positive one given certain aims.

It is concluded that, while in both the Aboriginal group and the non-Aboriginal group there are those who have responded negatively to the statements, and doubtless present examples of identity-diffusion and negative identity, it cannot be inferred that the majority of the Aboriginal students in this sample attest the psychological correlates linked either to identity-diffusion or negative identity.

The evidence from Schedule II statements supports the earlier findings concerning the positive self-typification of Aboriginal students.

It is concluded that students in the schools have not internalised the negative identities that the young people of the early seventies perceived as offered to them by the wider society.

On the contrary, the responses of Aboriginal students show evidence of ego-identity, often with greater support than is shown by non-Aborigines.

CHAPTER XXV

IDENTIALS/CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES - THE SECURING OF IDENTITY

25.1 Introduction

Sorokin (1947) discussed the importance of external factors of continuity of a group. One particular component of identity was found to lie in the 'vehicles[1]' of the group - property and material possessions, language, territory.

De Levita (1965:169), in studying individual identity, used the term 'identials' with the same connotation as Sorokin's vehicles of identity. Identials are objective attributes through which individuals are able to locate themselves, or are located by others, within a 'world' of meaning[2].

One's identity is secured by 'identials'. Particular identials are located in physical attributes, in personal possessions, in one's name, in one's faith, either religious faith, or faith in individuals, and in language. Physical attributes have been touched on indirectly in Statement 14[3].

Where identials are negative, one would expect a strain towards negative identity.

It has been shown[4] that, for certain people, Aboriginality does not consist in identials that are specially Aboriginal. Nevertheless, it may well be that some identials in the world of Aboriginal students differ from those of non-Aboriginal students.

The following statements are concerned with the areas of housing, religious faith, language, looks, nickname as identials.

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[1] See p. 26.

[2] See p. 31.

[3] See p. 423.

[4] See p. 302ff.

25.11 Housing as an idential

Housing is seen as an important idential. Allied to the notion of 'shame' connected with origins is the possibility of shame connected with housing, often mentioned in Aboriginal writings (Gilbert, 6-7; Dixon 33-34, 37-38; Marshall, 52-53; Perkins, 122; in Tatz, ed., 1975).

Statements 48 and 53 relate to this area.

25.11 (i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that given the poor state of housing of Aborigines (Gale, 1972) and the comments made by Aboriginal writers, Aborigines would be ashamed of their housing, and would express the wish to own a house.

25.11(ii) TABLE 42

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 53 and 48 - housing

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
53. I wish we had a better house. I feel embarrassed having friends around						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	5.6	15.7	13.5	42.7	22.5	65.2
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	4.9	6.0	12.3	42.8	34.0	76.8
48. I wish our family owned our house. I'd feel more secure						(agree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	9.2	23.1	38.5	21.5	7.7	32.3
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	16.8	33.6	24.8	19.2	5.6	50.4

25.11 (iii) Discussion

There was a rejection of the feeling of being ashamed of housing. The majority of Aborigines (65.2 per cent) did not echo the complaints found in Aboriginal literature where housing was seen to prevent social interaction. Housing for most was seen as a positive idential. This was also true of the non-Aboriginal group.

Statement 48 revealed that 29 Aboriginal people, (one-third of the group) owned their own homes. Of the remainder, responses were spread, with 32.3 per cent agreeing, 38.5 per cent not sure, and 29.2 per cent disagreeing with the need to own their house in order to feel secure. The owning of one's home, while it was not a contentious issue, was seen as the reality already achieved, or the aspiration of another third of the group.

In the case of non-Aborigines, 167 out of the 289 owned their own houses. Of the remainder, half wished for this security, a higher proportion than in the case of Aboriginal people. There is thus a difference between the two groups in seeing this as an idential - a finding that supports Gale and Wundersitz' statement that the owning of a house was not seen as a value by people from the reserves (Gale and Wundersitz, 1982:70).

25.12 Religion

Erikson emphasised the importance of faith, either religious faith, or faith in a person, as an idential important in building and maintaining one's own identity[1]. Statement 17 aimed to establish whether or not, as suggested by Aborigines in interviews when seeking to delineate the problem to be researched, and by Calley (in Reay, 1964:56), Aborigines found adherence to a church group a source of feeling worthwhile.

25.12 (i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that affiliation with a church would be an important idential for Aborigines.

25.12 (ii) TABLE 43

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 17 - Religion as an idential

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
17. One of the places I feel really important and worthwhile is in church						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	4.4	12.1	46.2	24.2	13.2	37.4
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	3.1	12.2	24.7	27.4	32.6	60.0

25.12 (iii) Discussion

There was little support for this statement by Aborigines (16.5 per cent). Over a third disagreed (37.4 per cent) while 46.2 per cent were 'not sure'. The rejection of this statement was even greater on the part of the non-Aboriginal group, with 60 per cent rejecting it.

The hypothesis that church affiliation would be an important idential for Aborigines was not supported.

A further question from Schedule III, tapping membership of groups and group activities, provided information that 69.6 per cent of Aboriginal people in the study never go to church or to a religious mecting. Nineteen per cent go often or very often. For most of the Aboriginal students, group participation in religious groups does not provide a source of self-esteem.

The question of faith in individuals may be seen as allied to the statements on trust, examined above[1].

[1] See p. 400ff.

with 34.1 per cent agreeing their English was not good enough, 27.5 per cent being unsure and 38.5 per cent believing their English was not a handicap to getting a job.

At a personal level, the majority of respondents felt that their command of language did not impede social interaction.

It has been seen that 'speaking English well' is not stereotyped by Aborigines for Aborigines *or* by non-Aborigines for non-Aborigines[1]. Most of the students in the study, both Aborigines and non-Aborigines believed Aborigines and Australians lacked adequate skills in English.

Nevertheless, a higher proportion of the Aboriginal group, compared with the non-Aboriginal group, saw themselves as disadvantaged in their command of English, 34.1 per cent compared with 26.8 per cent. For a third of Aborigines, language is a negative idential in the job market.

There was thus limited support for the hypothesis advanced that Aborigines would perceive themselves lacking job opportunities because of their command of English.

25.14 Physical appearance

In discussing the identification/categorisation of Aborigines[2], colour and physical attributes were seen by magistrates and others as negative identials that located Aborigines into a negative identity.

25.14 (i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would support the statement that they felt self-conscious about their looks and would reject the statement that people liked them for themselves.

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[1] See p.340, 344 above.

[2] See p. 120 above.

25.13 Competency in language

The importance of a command of language for integration into a group is emphasized by writings in the sociology of knowledge. The importance of the command of English is emphasized also in writings on multiculturalism and ethnic identity.

25.13(i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would perceive themselves as lacking opportunities because of their poor command of English.

25.13(ii)

TABLE 44

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 42 and 40 - Command of English

Statement	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Not sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
42. If my English were better, I'd have a better chance of getting a job		34.1[1]				(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	5.5	28.6	27.5	30.8	7.7	38.5
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	4.8	22.0	20.6	37.1	15.5	52.6
40. My English is not good enough for mixing with people comfortably						(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	6.7	10.0	15.6	50.0	17.8	67.8
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	4.9	9.0	10.8	51.0	24.0	75.0

25.13 (iii) Discussion

At the level of mixing with others, 67.8 per cent of the Aboriginal group rejected the statement that their English was not good enough. When English was connected with getting a job, the response was spread,

[1] Where there is support approaching the majority support but at the other pole, this has also been calculated and shown within the table.

25.14(ii) TABLE 45

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statements 60 and 23 - physical appearance as an idential

Statement	Agree Strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
60. I often feel self-conscious about my looks		30.6				(disagree)
Aboriginal response (N=93)	7.1	23.5	36.5	22.4	10.6	33.0
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	17.0	37.7	24.9	17.3	3.1	54.7 (agree)
23. I think people like me for myself and don't worry about looks or clothing or the sort of houses we have						(agree)
Aboriginal response	10.0	54.4	24.4	10.0	1.1	64.4
Non-Aboriginal response	13.0	43.5	26.4	12.7	4.5	56.5

25.14 (iii) Discussion

The hypothesis was not supported. Aborigines showed less support for 'being conscious about their looks' than non-Aborigines.

Item 60, self-consciousness about looks, is a 'normal' feeling in young people. One might expect, however, with the extra element of colour, that there would be strong degree of self-consciousness about looks among Aborigines. In fact there was a relatively even distribution 30.6 per cent, 36.5 per cent, 33.0 per cent in the Aboriginal response.

In the case of non-Aborigines there was marked agreement about feeling self-conscious about their looks. Fifty-four point seven per cent agreed with this. Aboriginal physical characteristics, which were the criteria for being relegated to reserves and relegated to negative identity, were not seen as a negative idential. Aborigines were less self-conscious about their looks than non-Aborigines.

In the literature there are frequent references to the fact that Aborigines see others stereotyping them as not-human, not a person to be visited. It would be expected that Aborigines would see themselves *not* liked for themselves, and that external identials would be important. Aboriginal people in interviews commented on their dislike of white people 'dressing down' among Aboriginal people. They expected a neat standard of dress from those interacting with them, and both men and women working in government agencies maintained a very high standard of dress. Clothes were manifestly important as an idential[1].

In the case of being liked for oneself and not for identials, such as looks and clothing, 64.4 per cent of Aborigines agreed with this, compared with 56.5 per cent of non-Aborigines. In both cases the responses indicated a security of acceptance that was not related to material identials (house, clothing) or the physical idential of looks. The response had greater support on the part of the Aboriginal students than the non-Aboriginal students.

∴ *The hypothesis that Aborigines would reject the statement that people liked them for themselves was not supported.*

25.15 Nicknames

A nickname is seen as an important idential in that it encapsulates the typification of others.

25.15 (i) Hypothesis

In the literature, all names bestowed on Aborigines are either negative or dehumanising in that they are generic terms, 'Jacky', etc. It was hypothesised that more Aboriginal respondents would see nicknames as derogatory, and as a negative idential, than non-Aboriginal respondents.

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[1]The counsellor at Pt. Augusta pointed out that the Aboriginal children in the 'special class', that is those with special problems, wore, on all occasions, a 'beanie' (a small knitted skull cap). For them it was an important idental. They could not bear to be separated from it, and would go home if it was taken from them. No-one could explain why this particular article of clothing was so important as an idential.

25.15(ii) TABLE 46

25.15(ii) Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal response to Statement 50 - nicknames as a derogatory idential

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
50. I had a nickname but I'd rather not tell it. I'd be ashamed of it						(disagree)
		38.1				
Aboriginal response (N=93)	25.4	12.7	14.1	19.7	28.2	47.9
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	19.1	11.8	18.6	19.1	31.4	50.5
		30.9				

25.15 (iii) Discussion

While 38.1 per cent of Aborigines were ashamed of their nicknames, 47.9 per cent were not. In the case of non-Aborigines, 30.9 per cent were ashamed of their nicknames and 50.5 per cent were not.

There was some support for the hypothesis that more Aborigines would feel ashamed of their nicknames than non-Aborigines.

It should be noted that nicknames are 'bestowed' by others. It is therefore an imposition from without, which gives cause for shame. It must be remembered that Aborigines are not ashamed of their looks, their families, those 'plurels' which cannot be changed.

25.16 Summary

Despite the nihilation of Aboriginal people by exclusion conceptually from mainstream society, for the majority of Aboriginal students in the study, the rudimentary theorizing directed at locating the self in mainstream society, particularly in the school situation, was positive.

The negative identity offered to Aborigines by mainstream society in the stereotyping of Aborigines was not the identity accepted.

There is evidence, on the contrary, to support the notion that the Aboriginal students see themselves as exercising a degree of control over their lives, subjectively appropriating the components of strong ego-identity and rejecting attributes of negative identity and identity-diffusion.

They do not reject their Aboriginality. On the contrary, the evidence points to a pride in Aboriginality and a desire to strengthen the group 'so that they can get somewhere' in society.

It can be asserted that, for the students in the study, socialization into an Aboriginal identity cannot be equated with socialization into negative identity.

It remains to be seen, for urban Aborigines, what can be the components of a specifically Aboriginal identity, whether indeed there are any identials specifically Aboriginal, except for colour and physical characteristics.

Theorizing is found in the literature, by both the Aborigines and non-Aborigines, that Aborigines are distinctive in that they have a different value system. We shall now address ourselves to this question.

25.2 Aboriginal cultural values

In 1975 the School's Commission appointed an Aboriginal Consultative group. In its report it made the following statement:

> We recognise the existence of an Aboriginal people consisting of many diverse communities and individuals and that specific educational needs are different among different Aboriginal groups. But we see a common cohesion of cultural values and aspirations that identify us as a distinct people, with aspirations often quite different to that of the non-Aboriginal community (Report of the Aboriginal Consultative group to the Australian Schools Commission: foreword).

And again:

> It would be a tragedy to destroy one of the last remaining people who do not worship material values (ibid:3).

The question posed is whether or not there is evidence among urban Aborigines of 'cultural values and aspirations that identify Aborigines as a distinct people', and in particular whether there is evidence of a lack of orientation to material values.

One may distinguish between values held by Aboriginal people for themselves (as by the Consultative group) and perceptions by non-Aboriginal society of values held by the Aboriginal people. Aborigines theorize that they do not value material possessions, are not ambitious, are aware of others needs rather than putting the self first as white people are seen to do. They are not future oriented. They are often in debt because they are non-materialistic and generous with money.

Gilbert rejects those notions as mythologies.

> Together with many sympathetic whites, they embrace and propagate a number of myths about themselves: that Aboriginals share freely; that they have a strong feeling of community; that they don't care about money and lack the materialism of white society; that they care more deeply for their children than do white parents.
>
> Aborigines try to believe these fallacies about themselves because they won't face the truth (Gilbert, 1977:1).

There are other characteristics which are seen to be evidence of an Aboriginal sub-culture. The dominance of the female in the society is one of these characteristics.

It was hypothesized that the Aborigines in the study would have internalised the theorising of Aboriginal contemporary definers of reality and would have accepted a 'world' of values which identify them as Aboriginal.

Items 7/28, 14/35, 17/38, 21/42 were included in Schedule I as examples of cultural traits held to be characteristic of Aboriginal people.

25.21 Dominance of mother in the home

(i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that the mother would be seen as 'making the rules' in the Aboriginal household.

25.21(ii) TABLE 47

Comparison of Aboriginal views with regard to the role of the mother in the society of Aborigines, Aboriginal self, Australians

	Item 7 Mother makes rules	mid-point	Item 28 Father makes rules
	%	%	%
Aboriginal response			
Aborigines in general (N=93)	22.8	46.7	30.4
Aboriginal self (N=51)	28.0	46.0	26.0
Australians (N=93)	23.3	39.4	37.3

25.21 (iii) Discussion

The notion of a female dominated society (item 7) was not supported for Aborigines in general. Most support came at the mid-point. There was some support for the view that the father made the rules in the household. For the Aboriginal self there was about equal support for father and mother making rules, with strongest support at the mid-point. On this issue, Aboriginal people saw Australians either at the mid-point or with the father dominant.

This Aboriginal view can be compared with non-Aboriginal views.

25.21(iv) TABLE 48

Comparison of non-Aboriginal view of the role of the mother in Aboriginal society and Australian society

	Item 7 Mother makes rules %	mid-point %	Item 28 Father makes rules %
Non-Aboriginal view of Aborigines (N=289)	10.6	51.4	38.0
Non-Aboriginal view of Australians (N=289)	15.3	41.0	43.7

The non-Aboriginal view of Aborigines also supported that of Aborigines. Both Aborigines and non-Aborigines saw Aboriginal households as not female dominated. This perception may reflect the fact that those Aborigines who persevere at school have stable homes - possibly a large proportion having a white male figure[1].

A scanning of Aboriginal writings does not reveal any mention of the presence of white males in Aboriginal households.

Nevertheless, as Gale and Wundersitz's findings show, this is a reality which must also influence the stereotypes which Aboriginal people themselves hold about their values.

Non-Aborigines stereotype[2] Australians as having fathers who make the rules.

25.21(v) TABLE 49

Comparison of non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal view of the role of mothers in Italian households

	Item 7 Mother makes rules %	mid-point %	Item 28 Father makes rules %
Non-Aboriginal view of Italians (N=289)	18.6	25.6	55.8
Aboriginal view of Italians (N=93)	14.0	29.0	57.0

[1] See Gale and Wundersitz' findings, p. 323 above.

[2] According to the definition given, p. 325 above.

Both Aborigines and non-Aborigines stereotype the Italian world as having the father 'making the rules'.

25.21 (vi) Summary

The hypothesis that Aborigines would see themselves as being female-dominated was not supported.

Female dominance was not seen as characteristic of Aborigines by non-Aborigines. The group which was clearly seen to have a particular cultural characteristic was the Italian group, and in their case it was one of male domination.

25.22 Aware of needs of others/put self and family first

The cultural value of Aboriginal people being aware of the needs of others, not putting emphasis on money and material goods is one offered by Aboriginal society. Items 14/35 and 21/42 tested this.

25.22 (i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would see themselves as being aware of the needs of others rather than putting the self first.

25.22 (ii) TABLE 50

Comparison of views of Aborigines on Aborigines in general and Aboriginal self

		Item 14 Aware of needs of others %	mid-point %	Item 35 Put self and family first %
Aboriginal view of Aborigines in general	(N=93)	30.4	33.7	35.9
Aboriginal view of Aboriginal self	(N=51)	30.0	12.0	58.0

25.22(iii) Discussion

There was slight support for the notion that Aborigines in general put self and family first; there was stronger support for the view that the Aboriginal self does this.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would place value on being aware of the needs of others was not supported.

'Putting self and family first' was stereotyped for Aborigines, and the Aboriginal self. The following table compares the perceptions of Aborigines and non-Aborigines on this issue.

25.22(iv) TABLE 51

Comparison of views of Aborigines and non-Aborigines on the characteristic of 'being aware of the needs of others/put self and family first'

	Item 14 Aware of needs of others %	mid-point %	Item 35 Put self and family first %
Aborigines (N=93)			
view of Aborigines	30.4	33.7	35.9
Aboriginal self (N=51)	30.0	12.0	58.0
Australians	8.8	22.0	69.3
Italians	6.5	20.4	73.2
Non-Aborigines (N=289)			
view of Aborigines	20.4	30.2	49.5
Australians	17.3	22.0	60.7
Italians	18.4	19.4	62.2

25.22(v) Discussion

Both groups, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, stereotyped *all* groups as putting self and family first. The fact that Aborigines stereotyped the Aboriginal self positively on all other items[1] indicates that they see this as a positive value. There is not evidence that this group of Aborigines holds 'being aware of the needs of others' as a particularly 'Aboriginal' value.

[1] See p. 346 above.

25.22 Non-materialistic values

25.22(i) Generous with money/waste money

Item 17/38, generous with money/waste money, gave an opportunity to categorise the use of money either negatively (waste money) or positively (generous with money).

25.22(i) (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aborigines would see Aborigines in general as being generous with money, rather than accepting the interpretation of the white world that Aborigines waste money, and that this would be a factor in the 'non-materialistic' view of Aborigines.

25.22(i) (b) TABLE 52

Comparison of views of Aborigines and non-Aborigines - waste money/generous with money

	Item 17 Waste money %	mid-point %	Item 38 Generous with money %
Aborigines (N=93)			
View of Aborigines	49.5	25.3	25.3
(N=52) Aboriginal self	18.3	24.5	57.2
Australians	37.0	42.4	20.7
Italians	22.7	51.6	25.8
Non-Aborigines (N=302)			
View of Aborigines	74.1	15.2	10.7
Australians	36.7	32.7	30.6
Italians	31.0	38.8	40.2

25.22(i) (c) Discussion

Aborigines in general were seen by Aboriginal respondents as wasting money (49.5 per cent). The Aboriginal self was seen as generous with money (57.2 per cent). On this question, Australians and Italians were placed at the mid-point, with support of 42.4 per

cent and 51.6 per cent respectively.

Seventy-four point one per cent of non-Aborigines stereotyped Aborigines as wasting money; opinion was fairly evenly distributed about 'Australians', with some degree of support that they waste money. The non-Aboriginal view supported the view that Italians were generous with money (40.2 per cent).

Both Aborigines and non-Aborigines saw Aborigines in general as wasting money. That is, they did not perceive their attitude to money as being a cultural trait of generosity and sharing with others specific to Aborigines.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would see Aborigines as generous with money was supported for the Aboriginal self.

25.22 (ii) Other things more important than money

Items 21/42 examined another aspect of the same issue, often cited by Aborigines as the crucial point of difference between white and Aboriginal society, namely that they are non-materialistic, 'other things are more important than money'.

25.22(ii) (a) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that for Aborigines in general and the Aboriginal self there would be strong support for the notion that other things are more important than money.

25.22(ii) (b) TABLE 53

Comparison of Aboriginal view of Australians, Italians, Aborigines, Aboriginal self - other things more important than money/money and possessions important

	Item 21 Other things more important than money	mid-point	Item 42 Money and possessions important
	%	%	%
Aboriginal view of (N=93)			
Australians	17.6	24.2	58.3
Italians	7.7	17.6	74.7
Aborigines	37.0	29.3	33.7
Aboriginal self (N=51)	34.0	46.0	20.0

25.22 (ii) (c) Discussion

While Australians, and to an even greater extent, Italians, were seen by Aboriginal respondents to hold money and possessions as important, there was little difference for Aborigines between Item 21 and Item 42 (37.0 per cent, 33.7 per cent). For the Aboriginal self, the major support lay at neither extreme, but at the mid-point.

Aborigines and the Aboriginal self were given more support on 'holding other things more important than money', compared with the view of Australians and Italians. However, this item was not given the overwhelming support that was given, for example, to the notion that Aborigines should form groups to get somewhere, or other issues on which there was great cohesion. It cannot be concluded that 'other things are more important than money' is held with great cohesion as a distinguishing cultural value of Aboriginal people by Aboriginal people themselves, though there was some support for this view.

The hypothesis that there would be STRONG support for the belief that Aborigines and the Aboriginal self hold other things more important than money was not supported.

On the other hand, there was greater support for this item as characterising Aborigines and the Aboriginal self than there was support for it as a characteristic of Australians and Italians.

25.22(ii) (d) Comparison of non-Aboriginal view of Australians, Italians, Aborigines - other things more important than money

The non-Aboriginal view is set out in the following table, Table 54.

25.22(ii) (d) TABLE 54

Non-Aboriginal view of Australians, Italians, Aborigines - other things more important than money

	Item 21 Other things more important than money %	mid-point %	Item 42 Money and possessions important %
Non-Aboriginal View (N=289)			
Australians	38.2	25.0	36.7
Italians	20.6	26.9	52.4
Aborigines	33.3	27.1	39.5

Table 54 shows that, in the view of non-Aborigines, Australians and Aborigines were seen to have similar values on the question of holding money and possessions as important.

Support was given to Australians and Aborigines holding both values, with the mid-point receiving least support.

Italians were seen by a larger proportion as placing emphasis on money and possessions.

Other things being more important than money received more support from non-Aborigines as a cultural value of 'Australians' than it did for Aborigines as a cultural value of Aborigines and the Aboriginal self (Table 53).

25.23 Lack of future orientation

(i) Worth saving up even if you have to go without now

Schedule II, Statement 58 - 'It's worth saving up even if I have to go without now' was strongly supported by Aborigines (75.3 per cent agreed).

	Agree Strongly %	Agree %	Not Sure %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Majority support %
Aboriginal response (N=93)	19.1	56.2	21.3	2.2	1.1	75.3 (agree)
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	39.1	47.8	9.7	2.4	1.0	86.9

25.23 (ii) Value of working hard to get benefits later Schedule II, Statement 45 has also been discussed[1]

While clearer support was given by non-Aborigines for working hard now to get benefits later, nevertheless there was strong support from Aborigines also. It cannot be said that there was evidence that Aboriginal people are not future-oriented, particularly with regard to money.

25.24 Definitions of success

From interviews conducted in constructing the schedules, it became evident that for the Aboriginal people different things constituted success for different people. An understanding of the meaning given to success is important in building up the socially constructed meanings of the Aboriginal world, and in seeking to establish whether there is a specifically Aboriginal view of success.

Various definitions of success offered by Aboriginal people in preliminary interviews were incorporated into Schedule II in order to investigate how Aboriginal people saw success, and whether or not their views differed from those of non-Aboriginal people.

25.24 (i) Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that Aboriginal views of success would be non-materialistic in orientation.

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[1]See p. 404.

25.24(ii)

TABLE 55

Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal views of success

Statement	Agree strongly	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Majority support
	%	%	%	%	%	%
43. I think you are really a success if you cope with whatever life brings						
Aboriginal response (N=93)	16.9	49.4	22.5	10.1	1.1	agree 66.3
Non-Aboriginal response (N=289)	24.1	46.7	19.2	8.9	1.0	70.8
21. The way you know you are a success is the amount of money you earn						
Aboriginal response	6.7	14.4	23.3	47.8	7.8	disagree 55.6
Non-Aboriginal response	4.8	16.3	19.7	43.9	15.3	59.2
35. The chief thing that shows you are a success is if you have lots of friends						
Aboriginal response	6.8	13.6	27.3	39.8	12.5	disagree 52.3
Non-Aboriginal response	8.2	29.6	24.1	28.2	9.9	38.1
		37.8			38.1	
25. The way you know you are a success is if you can get a job		41.8			36.3	agree
Aboriginal response	9.9	31.9	22.0	29.7	6.6	41.8
Non-Aboriginal response	7.4	29.7	26.4	30.4	6.1	37.1
		37.1			36.5	
8. There are more important things in life than money or jobs		38.1			41.3	disagree
Aboriginal response	12.0	26.1	19.6	29.3	12.0	41.3
Non-Aboriginal response	12.8	30.4	18.9	24.3	13.5	agree
		43.2			37.8	43.2

25.24 (iii) Discussion -

It will be seen that both groups saw 'coping with whatever life brings'[1] as the most supported mark of success. Neither group saw success as centred on the amount of money earned, or on having lots of friends (though the non-Aboriginal group was equally divided on this last issue).

Both groups gave support to the statement that there were more important things in life than jobs or money. The Aboriginal group gave less support than the non-Aborigines and 41.3 per cent disagreed with the statement (more than supported it).

On the whole it could be said that the value structures were not greatly different on this issue.

Aborigines tended to give rather more importance to having a job as a measure of success than non-Aborigines: non-Aborigines tended to support the notion of having friends slightly more than Aborigines.

25.3 Summary

It is concluded that there is no clear evidence that the group studied have internalized, in an unequivocal way, non-materialistic values held to be culturally distinctive of Aborigines.

There is some evidence to suggest that Aboriginal people embrace the values of the dominant society, though there is less support for that view.

Table 51 shows that Aborigines and non-Aborigines saw Aborigines putting self and family first, as did Australians and Italians.

Aborigines saw Australians and Aborigines (but not the Aboriginal self) wasting money. They did not see 'generosity with money' as a cultural value for Aborigines.

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[1] This was a phrase commonly used by Aboriginal people in interviews, when asked to define what success meant to them.

Aborigines gave ambivalent support to the notion of other things being more important than money (Table 53). Significantly, they placed the self at the mid-point.

In general the 'world' of meaning of Aboriginal people would seem to be one where a negative identity is not internalized. Rather it is a positive identity. Identity is secured by positive identials. The values embraced are oriented towards those of white society.

CHAPTER XXVI

RESEARCH FINDINGS

26.1 Introduction

The aim of the study was to map the 'worlds' in which Aborigines locate their identity.

The three areas for investigation were set out (p. 37), namely

(i) interaction between psychological reality and psychological models

(ii) interaction between social structure and the 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people find their identity

(iii) interaction between the self and society.

26.2 Research findings

26.21 Area 1[1] : Interaction between psychological reality and psychological models

The study has demonstrated the paramount importance of theorizing in building a world of meaning. Theorizing was shown to exert a 'realizing potency' (Chapter XIII, Chapter XIX).

The study has shown (Chapters VIII-IX) that legislation and policy of governments before 1967 were contexted into the conceptual machinery of nihilation, which was used as the means of managing the symbolic universe of the Aboriginal people.

Interaction with negative typifications inherent in legislation and policy continues to result in typifications of Aborigines that are negative (p. 359).

In the seventies the psychological model, (i.e. the model produced by theorizing), of the 'world' of Aborigines, *as it was projected by the 'theorizing' of white society* changed dramatically.

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[1]See p. 37 for theoretical basis for Area 1.

[2]Chapter VIII-IX.

Contemporary (post-1967) legislation and policy of Government, government agencies and government supported bodies no longer acted to nihilate the world of Aborigines. However, policy continued to *exclude* Aborigines from mainstream society; at the same time government theorizing gave positive recognition to an Aboriginal 'world' (Chapter XI).

The awareness of politicians of the importance of the 'ethnic' vote in the late seventies led to a reconceptualization of the place of migrants in Australian society (p. 145). This reconceptualization of Australian identity also excluded Aborigines from mainstream society (p. 146 ff.) but, at the same time, by excluding them, gave prominence to the status of the Aboriginal population. Policy from the seventies onward gave positive recognition to the 'world' of Aborigines.

The Federal Government set up the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, which in its turn structured agencies which generated, for Aborigines, jobs having status (p. 240), even though these were 'closed' jobs (p. 309).

The positive theorizing of the seventies, objectified, permitted the possibility of the people interacting with positive typifications of themselves.

Interaction between Aboriginal people and the psychological models was shown to result in a theorizing on the part of Aboriginal people that constructed different 'worlds' (Chapter VI).

Examples were given of

- a tradition-oriented world - Strelley (ChaptersXII-XVI)
- a parallel world - Port Augusta (Chapters XVIII-XIX)
- a world integrated into white society - Adelaide (Chapters XVIII-XIX)

It was demonstrated that Aborigines are not a monolithic group.

Among the government supported bodies, the Schools Commission, in particular, gave positive recognition to Aboriginal worlds (pp. 156 ff.)

* It set up a Consultative group to advise it (1975).
* It set up the National Aboriginal Education Committee (1979) and proposed (1981) that this committee be responsible for allocation of funds to Aboriginal Education.
* It recognised differences among Aboriginal groups at the level of theory *and* practice, and placed responsibility on schools to theorize and prepare programmes for particular Aboriginal clienteles. It thus focussed attention, not on abstractions, but on the real life, lived life of Aboriginal people contexted into different 'worlds'.

The study has shown that school personnel have interacted with the theorizing of the Schools Commission to articulate a positive theorizing about Aboriginal identity and to structure schooling in a way that reflects the different models of 'worlds' with which students interact (p. 314 ff.).

Hypothesis 1.1 (p. 42)

The hypothesis, that there would not be different models of Aboriginal worlds conceptualized by mainstream society was supported by pre-1967 legislation and policy, and post-1967 practice. It was not supported in the case of the Australian Schools Commission, and schools.

The hypothesis that it would be shown that the conceptual machinery of nihilation was used to locate Aboriginal people outside mainstream society was supported for the period before 1967.

In post-1967 policy, Aborigines were excluded from mainstream society, but their world of meaning was not nihilated. Positive recognition was given to the Aboriginal world at the theoretical level.

Hypothesis 1.2 (p. 42)

The hypothesis that Aboriginal people would be seen to be named by the dominant mainstream society was supported for urban people.

The hypothesis that this naming would reveal a lack of Aboriginal autonomy was supported for urban people.

The hypothesis that the process of naming created a situation disposing the people towards identity-diffusion was supported.

Hypothesis 1.3 (p. 43)

The hypothesis that Aboriginal people would construct different models of Aboriginal worlds was supported.

Hypothesis 1.4(a) (p. 43)

The hypothesis that reality definers in different school/ educational systems would theorize differently about Aboriginal identity for their students was supported.

Hypothesis 1.4(b) p. 43

The hypothesis that Aboriginal students would theorize negatively about the world of education was not supported.

26.22 Area II[1]: Interaction between social structure and the 'worlds' in which Aboriginal people find their identity

The study has shown that

* Non-Aboriginal students in the study have interacted with the pre-1967 sedimented typifications of Aborigines to produce negative typifications of Aborigines (p. 338).
* The more visible the Aboriginal group, and the more overt the theorizing supporting them, the more support was given for negative typifications on the part of non-Aborigines (p. 359).

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[1]See pp. 44ff. for a description of the theoretical background for this section.

* Aboriginal students have internalised the negative typifications of mainstream society towards Aborigines. They support typifications of Aborigines that are predominantly negative, though less negative than that of non-Aborigines (p. 344ff.).
* Aboriginal students have not internalised negative typifications for themselves (p. 370ff.) They typify themselves positively, and they theorize positively about themselves, their families, their location in society (p. 400ff.).
* Aboriginal students typify 'Australians' positively (p. 362 ff.).

Hypothesis 2.1 (p. 46)

The hypothesis that the typificatioon of Aborigines would be negative was supported.

The hypothesis that the greater the visibility of the Aboriginal group, the more negative would be the typification, was supported.

Hypothesis 2.2 (p. 46)

The hypothesis that there would be evidence of institutionalisation of typifications (that is, that the Aborigines would have internalised the negative typifications of the dominant group) was supported in the case of typification of Aborigines in general.

It was not supported for typifications of the Aboriginal self.

Hypothesis 2.3 (p. 46)

The hypothesis that Aborigines would typify Australians negatively was not supported.

The hypothesis that Aborigines would typify Italians negatively was not supported.

Hypothesis 2.4(a)

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal world, the more cohesive would be the view of the Aboriginal self, was supported.

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal 'world', the more positive would be the typifications of Aborigines in general, was supported.

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal 'world', the less positive would be the view of Australians, was not supported.

Hypothesis 2.4(b) (p. 47)

The hypothesis that the more visible the Aboriginal group, the more negative would be the typifications of Aborigines by non-Aborigines, was supported.

Hypothesis 2.5(a) (p. 47)

The hypothesis that the 'visible' group of Aborigines at S.A.I.T. would show strong attachment to Aboriginal cultural values was not supported.

Hypothesis 2.5(b) (p. 47)

The hypothesis that, in the 'world' of those people not easily identifiable as Aborigines, (Stone's Business College), there would be uncertainty in typifying Australians and Aborigines, was supported.

26.23 Area III[1] : Interaction between the self and society

The research study showed that,

* Before 1967, the dominant group in Australian society exercised power over the Aboriginal people by identification/naming that located Aboriginal people within a negative identity (p. 112 ff.).
* Constant changes in policies of identification/naming of the Aboriginal people structured a situation for identity-diffusion (p. 130 ff.).

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[1]See p. 48 ff. for a description of the theoretical background for this section.

* The choosing of a negative identity was seen by Aboriginal people as a possible escape from identity-diffusion (p. 129ff.).
* Post-1967 theorizing resulted in positive typifications (social structures), which in turn made possible for Aborigines the choice of positive identity, a positive location of the self in society (p. 137ff.).
* There was not a strain towards identity-diffusion or negative identity on the part of Aboriginal students studied (p. 400ff.).
* There was a strain towards ego-identity on the part of the majority of Aborigines (Chapter XXIV).

On the part of the Aboriginal students there were

* Positive views towards location in the world of schooling (p. 423ff.).
* Support for strengthening Aboriginal groups to get somewhere (p. 379).
* Positive views of location within the family (p. 417ff.).
* Positive views of identials (p. 429ff.).
* Positive views of interaction with the white world (p. 405ff.).

There was

* Support for Aborigines merging with the wider community (p. 379).
* Support for moving out from kinship groupings (p. 415ff.).
* A lack of strong support for cultural traits held to be characteristic of Aborigines (p. 438ff.).

Hypothesis 3.1(a)(p. 51)

The hypothesis that Aboriginal students would manifest characteristics of identity-diffusion or negative identity was not supported.

Hypothesis 3.1(b) (p. 51)

The hypothesis that the values of Aboriginal students would be oriented towards the values of mainstream society was supported.

Hypothesis 3.2 (p. 51)

The hypothesis that identials associated with Aboriginal identity would have negative characteristics was not supported.

The object of the study[1] was to map the 'world' of meaning in which Aborigines are situated, to contribute to their understanding of this world, so that the Aboriginal people might intervene in this reality in order to construct a world within which an identity that is Aboriginal may be located.

The conclusions to be drawn from the research findings (Chapter XXVII) will therefore be highly selective and oriented towards providing a basis for intervention in the Aboriginal 'world' to change it.

The research findings demonstrated, using Strelley community as an example, that man is not determined by society, but is constrained by society.

Man can interact with the world into which he is born and change it.

The analysis of the 'world' of Strelley showed clearly that man has interacted with a given world and changed it in order to construct a positive Aboriginal identity, based in a coherent world view that takes from white society what it needs, while conserving the traditions of the Law.

The inference is that it is possible for urban Aborigines, also, to construct a 'world' within which they can find an Aboriginal identity.

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[1]See p. 16.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

27.1 Conclusions

27.11 'Worlds' of Aborigines

The most important conclusion of the study, from which other conclusions derive, is the fact that Aborigines are not a monolithic group and that categorisation and policy-making which do not take note of this are either useless or harmful or both.

What can be generalised in the *urban* situation is that Aboriginal students in schools have:

a positive view of themselves and their families
a positive view of schooling
a positive view of Australian society
a desire to merge into Australian society.

However, there is not one 'world' of meaning for Aborigines.

There are 'worlds' of meaning, differing between tradition-oriented and urban groups and within the urban situation. The differing models of Aboriginal worlds proposed, (Figure 3) are accepted as 'real' for the Aboriginal people.

However, from the point of view of the white world, legislation continues to be passed for 'Aborigines', policy is formulated for 'Aborigines' as if they were a monolithic group, despite the stated aims and objectives of political party policies.

Aborigines are forced into identifying themselves in a global way, *since the categories for such identification are determined by white society.*

The Aboriginal people are 'named', located, into a particular world of meaning, by the dominant group.

Such naming by others is a basic problem in the search for identity.

27.12 Naming

'Naming' by the Strelley Mob may be contrasted with naming by white society.

In the world of the Strelley Mob where the Aboriginal people see themselves as dominant, people are identified as marrngu, marta marta, white.

Such identification does not merely *name* people. It also locates people in a world of meaning in the same way that white naming does. However, the worlds of meaning defined by the Mob differ from those into which the white world locates Aboriginal people.

The *marrngu* constitutes a group which can be identified by the location of the self within the Law. Such location does not refer to colour, nor does it necessarily refer to physical location. It is a location within a 'world' of meaning with the acceptance of the duties/responsibilities/privileges institutionalised within this world. The socialisation of the individual is primarily socialisation into the Law. The naming locates the Aboriginal person into a positive 'world', in contradistinction to the naming of Aborigines by the white world which locates Aboriginal people into negative identity.

The *marta marta* are seen by the white world as *part-Aborigine*, because of colour and physical characteristics.

The marta marta are seen by the marrngu as *part-European* - since they are located in a white world of meaning.

It is argued that the definition of the marrngu is more accurate; the research findings show the urban Aborigines oriented towards white society.

They elect not to be socialised into the Law.

They are not privy to the secret/sacred knowledge embedded in the Law.

They are not privy to decision-making processes or to the bases on which decisions are made.

They cannot therefore be ascribed leadership roles in decision-making for the tradition-oriented people.

The white world gives this group power over traditional people by appointing them to positions in government agencies where the marta marta 'speak for' the marrngu people. The white world constructs a situation that negates the structures of the Law, and provides a basis for friction between the marrngu and the marta marta.

Earlier identification of Aborigines by non-Aborigines discussed above[1] acted to define those people of Aboriginal ancestry who had positive attributes as 'white', those with negative attributes as Aboriginal.

The same categorisation applies in the contemporary situation. Those who can 'pass' as white are denied Aboriginality. 'Aborigines do not want to be part of a multicultural society'. By definition, those who want to be part of multicultural society are *white* and no longer Aboriginal.

The assumption is always that *all* Aborigines want that which the agencies established by the Government say they want.

27.13 Identification as Aboriginal Australian

The research findings show that there *are* those who wish to identify as Aborigines and yet at the same time to be integrated into mainstream society (as Italian-Australians, Greek-Australians are encouraged to do).

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[1] See p. 112 ff.

The choice should be possible for individuals to identify as Aboriginal Australian, to categorize themselves as 'proud to be an Aborigine', but at the same time to seek an identity that is not distinguished by cultural differences. Such an identity could be described as that of an Aborigine in white society. Those with Aboriginal ancestry and claiming Aboriginal ancestry should have, if they wish, the opportunity to accept 'Australian' values. The research findings show a large proportion of Aboriginal students in schools oriented to mainstream values.

The option for identity on the part of these people would appear to be an option for a part-European identity.

It would seem oppressive to argue that all part-Aborigines/part-Europeans should opt for a part-Aboriginal identity rather than a part-European identity. Nevertheless, contemporary government policy impels the people in this direction.

Currently, multi-cultural policy rejects Aborigines from its framework, labelling them as an 'intractable problem'. Such theorizing supposedly sets out to seek a 'cohesive' Australia. But it places outside the framework many part-Aborigines/part-Europeans who, from the research evidence, wish to be *inside* the framework.

The conclusion is reached that, if the Government's position is not merely one of rhetoric, but is serious in intent about building a 'new' Australian identity, then governmental theorizing that excludes Aborigines from mainstream society must be changed.

Identification/naming of Aboriginal people must be in accord with the reality of the Aboriginal worlds.

In order for this to be accomplished, government *structures* must be changed.

At present, the theorizing that excludes Aborigines from its framework would seem to be formulated in this way because theorizing

about a multicultural Australia emanates from the Department of Migrant and Ethnic Affairs.

Aborigines are manifestly not migrants and it is inappropriate for them to be part of theorizing about *migrants*.

If the Government is giving priority to cultivating a new cohesive 'Australian' identity that includes ethnic groups as well as Anglo-Saxons, then the Ethnic Affairs section of the existing Department should be separated from the Migrant section. Aborigines *could* then be included in theorizing about ethnic groups.

If Ethnic and Migrant Affairs were separated administratively, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs could then become a sub-section of Ethnic Affairs. Most of the 'intractable' problems inherent in theorizing about Aboriginal people as part of a cohesive Australian identity would disappear. Aborigines would be Aboriginal-Australians, as Italians are Italian-Australians.

School theorizing, such as that offered at Salisbury North and at Stone's Business College,has produced structures to meet the needs of Aborigines who do not wish to have a separate identity, but wish to be seen as Aboriginal Australians. Where such institutions theorize about different 'worlds' for Aboriginal people, the people are offered real choices.

If, however, the policies of government are policies of rhetoric, cloaking an unwillingness to have *black* people as part of an 'emerging Australian identity', then the intractable problem will remain, and will always remain.

The scenario is one where politicians recognise and reflect the typifications of mainstream society that reject the Aboriginal people.

If policies concerning a multi-cultural Australia continue to exclude Aborigines, then the latter will be trapped into a conceptual framework which segregates them from mainstream society.

The conclusion then reached is that, if Aboriginal people are denied identity as Aboriginal Australians, they must turn their exclusion from mainstream society to advantage by actively implementing their theorizing about 'forming groups to get somewhere'. The formation of such groups will provide a locus for the construction of an Aboriginal identity.

The following parameters constraining the construction of positive identity for Aboriginal people may be isolated:

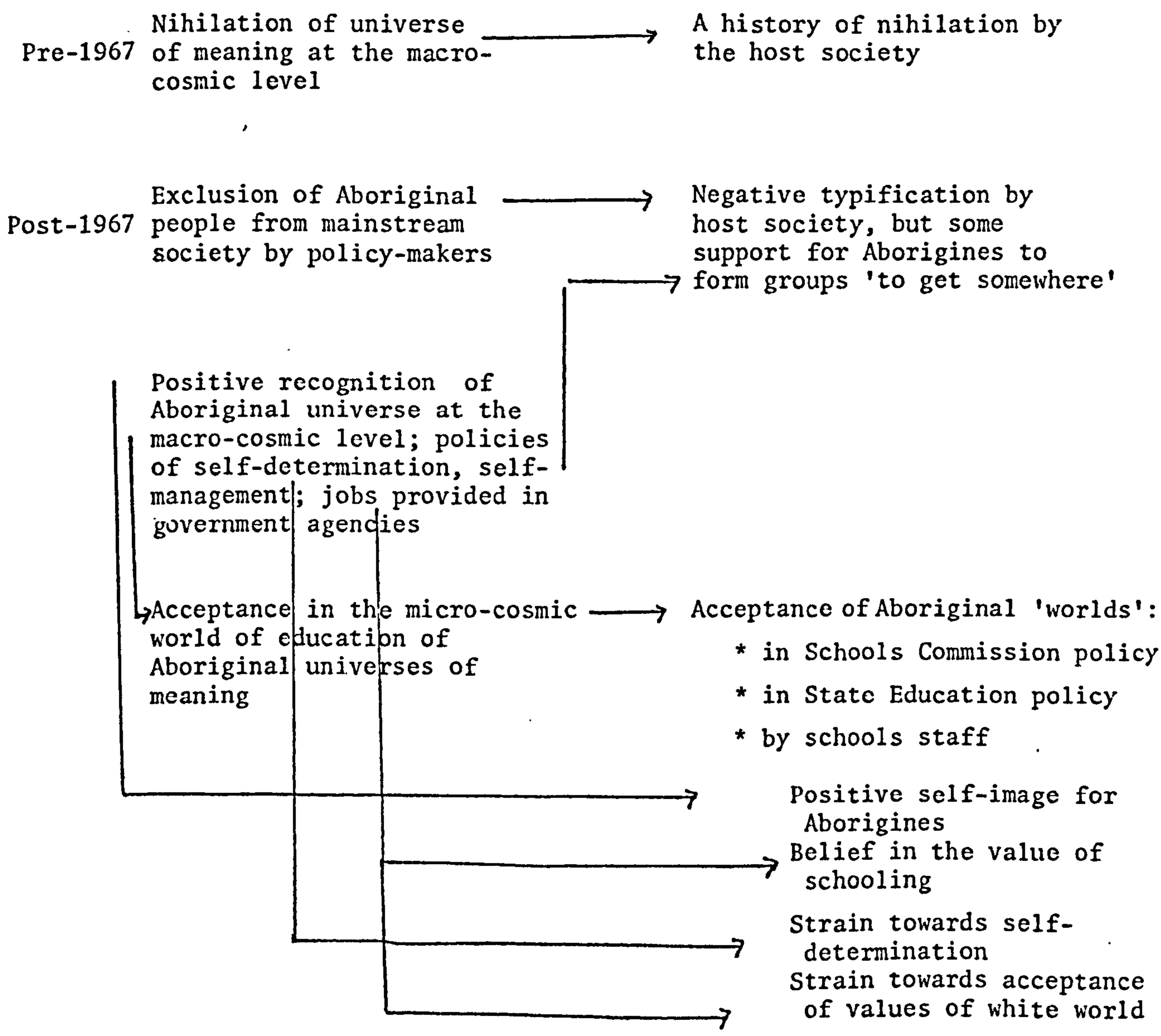

FIGURE 6

Parameters for the construction of a positive identity for Aboriginal people

27.2 Implications for practice

Aboriginal identity takes a nascent form. It can be seen in terms of locating the self in a group, in the sense of pointing to one's origins. 'I am proud to be an Aboriginal', is a statement heard again and again. Aboriginality, in this context, refers to pride in the location of the self into a particular group. It is an indication of the turning to advantage of exclusion from mainstream society, and an interaction with the positive content of contemporary theorizing.

In many ways, this identifying of 'non-practising' Aborigines can be likened to the identifying of 'non-practising' Jews.

Freud analyses his own bond to the Jewish race:

> What binds me to Jewry is neither faith nor national pride. But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible - many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction (Freud, quoted in Erikson, 1966:148).

It is very likely that the emerging sense of Aboriginal identity cannot be put into words because it consists of the feeling that subjective internalization of Aboriginal identity *ought* to be taking place; there is not yet a theorizing about the components of Aboriginal identity. Rather, there is a subjective internalization of one aspect of Aboriginal identity that is proferred to urban people, namely the theorizing about identity offered by policies of self-determination and self-management.

Allied to this belief in the possibility of self-determination are the "many obscure emotional forces" described by Freud, which act to bond an excluded people together.

The crucial issues which can be seized upon as part of a new striving for identity are those of pride in Aboriginality, and self-determination, a regaining of autonomy.

For this sense of pride to be a reality in the present, and not a backward looking to origins, it must find verification in achievement of some sort. Moreover, the achievement must be a result of self-determination.

If the insistence of the Aboriginal people on self-determination is accepted, then it must also be accepted that the gradual structuring of Aboriginal identity must be accomplished by the Aboriginal people themselves.

The question must be asked: What can Australian Aboriginal identity look like for people in the urban situation, both in the country urban area and the city urban area?

What insights, if any, may be drawn from the construction of identity at Strelley to throw light on the construction of identity for people in the detribalized situation?

27.21 Social structures; membership of a group

(i) Strelley

In comparing the urban groups with Strelley, there will again be reference to Sorokin's categories, characterising a group which has within itself factors of continuity.

It has been shown that Strelley group identity is predicated on the following components:

> The Mob is not a spatial agglomeration - the life of the group is dependent upon causal-meaningful bonds. Strelley Community has a cohesive world view, contexted into the Law.
> It has recognised leaders, and provides for continuity of leadership.
> It exercises political autonomy within the group, and jealously guards its autonomy in its interaction with others.
> Adherence to the ideological system (the Law) and to the aims of the group is a pre-requisite of membership.
> There is continual positive theorizing projecting the ideology of the group and indoctrinating its members.
> Education into the Law is given the highest priority.
> Within the total framework of the group, high priority is placed on schooling. The curriculum is integrated into the all-encompassing ideology of the Law.
> Identity is secured by identials:
> life history
> physical identity
> possessions
> religious beliefs (adherence to the Law).

(ii) Pt. Augusta

It has been shown that Pt. Augusta has some coherence as a group, some measure of autonomy, a structure for formulating common policy, and an appointed spokesperson.

It has bonds with the tradition-oriented world which offer a secure idential of life-history.

It is posited that the possibility of learning from Strelley will lie in the area of cementing causal-meaningful bonds, providing for continuity of leadership, and articulating an ideology with which members and potential members of the group can interact.

At Pt. Augusta there are some employment opportunities directly related to Aboriginal culture, teaching appointments in the Aboriginal Studies programme in schools, as cultural officers in national parks, as home-school liaison personnel interacting with people newly arrived from the 'bush'.

What is needed at Pt. Augusta is a continuation of these programmes, but with the jobs provided offering a career structure with promotional prospects.

At present the Aboriginal people at Pt. Augusta offer personal models of dedication and ability; they do not offer models for career structures.

The research findings show that Aboriginal people, like other Australian people,see money and jobs as important.

The lack of promotion opportunities for teacher-aides in general is a source of discontent; it is particularly important for Aboriginal people as a source for offering an employment model that provides status in the eyes of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worlds. Teacher-aide appointments provide opportunities for Aboriginal people to 'help themselves', and provide for cohesion within an Aboriginal world.

In Pt. Augusta, the theorizing about the Aboriginal community already conceptualises a parallel Aboriginal 'world'. The problem there is one of continued universe maintenance, rather than universe construction.

(iii) Adelaide

The Adelaide urban people are those who, in the first instance, emphasized the importance of the construction of identity as a topic for the research project.

While there is a movement towards establishing components of Aboriginal identity, most of the components stressed as building identity for Strelley are problematic for the Adelaide people.

While it is common to speak of the Aboriginal community in Adelaide, the scattering of the people throughout the school system is an indication of the lack of cohesion in comparison with the Strelley model. Conflict between groups has already been mentioned.

If there is to be cohesion of an ideology, membership will have to be located within discrete Aboriginal groups.

At Strelley, hiving off into language groups in point of fact *strengthens* the cohesion of the total group, and allows for leadership within smaller groups. Similarly, it could be expected that, rather than mythologizing about an Adelaide Aboriginal community, the emphasizing of the bonds of the Point Pearce and Point McLeay groups, would, in the long term, strengthen group solidarity. Group policy could be articulated within each group and co-ordinated by people who are the appointed spokespersons of the group, in the manner that this happens at Pt. Augusta.

There are already trends observable in establishing a theorizing about identity within these smaller groups.

Following the publication of Jenkin's (1979) book about the Ngarrindjeri, some of Pt. McLeay people, as well as identifying with the life-history of the reserve, now know about the life-history of the

tribal group from which many are descended. They are able to appropriate the idential of life-history as it is mediated through Jenkins' book and locate themselves as members of a particular tribal group[1].

Mrs. Doreen Wanganeen spent much of 1979-82 at the University of Adelaide compiling genealogies and collecting old photographs so that young people unaware of the life history of their people, and of their kinship connections, might locate themselves within such a life history.

Aboriginal studies programmes at Pt. Augusta schools, presented by Aboriginal people, vetted by Aboriginal people,provide a valuable introduction and/or strengthening of the idential of life history.

The Taperoo programme does this also. These programmes, of their nature,are more diffuse in presenting life history than is the manner in which this is accomplished at Strelley. There, life history is highly particularised. It is lived out in daily life. In the urban situations, while Aboriginal studies in the school curriculum aids understanding of the culture of Aboriginal people, and can become a generalised source of pride, an identification with the people studied cannot be equated with a personal life history.

At Taperoo, the Aboriginal studies programme, integrated into all subjects, and heightened by excursions, is aimed at making *all* students aware that Australian Aborigines can point with pride to a cultural heritage in which they share.

All these programmes, adapted to particular situations,make a valuable contribution towards giving Aboriginal people a sense

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[1] Inglis (1961:203) pointed out in the sixties the lack of knowledge of urban Aboriginal people about their traditional culture:

"Point Pearce people, who make up the bulk of the Adelaide population, admit that what they know of primitive lore has been learned from dark people from other places".

of the possibility of location within a group with positive attributes. Nevertheless, the history and culture presented in these programmes cannot be appropriated as personal identials. They can, however, provide mediated identials for membership within a group.

27.22 Factors of continuity

(i) Ideological system

Apart from expressions of a sense of pride in Aboriginality, and the espousing on behalf of the traditional people of the cause of Land Rights, it is difficult to find an agreed ideology to provide factors of continuity for the separate groups. The study shows a lack of support for values held to be characteristic of Aborigines which can be incorporated into an ideological system that marks off urban Aborigines from the white world.

There is a lack of defined leadership roles recognised by all members of a group, there is a lack of an agreed ideological basis for indoctrination of members of the group.

As a consequence, there is a tendency for urban Aborigines to mythologize about their role in the concerns of tradition-oriented people.

The supporting of Land Rights movements by urban people acts as a centre of cohesion for them; however, it could be argued that such cohesiveness is an illusion. It arises from a vicarious experience.

It could be argued that this is a parasitic movement, and takes the people away from issues that could bind urban people together and provide a basis for establishing a coherent world view.

Land Rights are more properly located in the 'world' of tradition-oriented Aborigines.

Where urban Aborigines promote the issue of Land Rights as an issue for themselves, rather than acting to support the activities of tradition-oriented people, this has been seen as an act of oppression by the latter. In terms of constructing a psychological world in which a viable urban Aboriginal identity may be located, such action leads to rejection by traditional people. Thus Land Rights activism may promote the cause of urban Aboriginal identity at the cost of alienating traditional people.

(ii) Causual-meaningful bonds

It is difficult to find causal-meaningful bonds that are inherited as part of the group and are different from those of white society. The bonds that exist arise from the negative treatment of mainstream society. It is these bonds formed by rejection, which, paradoxically, provide one of the strengths upon which emerging identity can be built.

(iii) Inherent continuity of the group

There is no evidence of inherent continuity of a group from within. Rather the boundaries from without act to provide this continuity.

27.3 Insights to be drawn from the Strelley construction of identity

The following areas can be isolated as providing insights for the construction of an urban Aboriginal identity.

27.31 Theorizing

The effect of theorizing in constructing a psychological 'world' with which the individual and groups can interact and structure identity has been demonstrated.

There is need for a theorizing that focusses on urban Aboriginal people, a theorizing that recognises their situation is different from the tradition-oriented model, and recognises that within the urban situation there are differences among Aborigines.

In particular, if Aborigines are to form groups within which they locate an Aboriginal identity then the crucial issue is that of autonomy.

From the example of Strelley we can isolate the following areas in which autonomy is exercised:

(i) political structures
(ii) economic structures
(iii) social structures

(i) Political autonomy within the group; leadership roles

As the traditional urban Aboriginal leaders die out (the Auntie Glads and Auntie Olgas) leadership of Aborigines in a white world will come more and more to be associated with status afforded through employment. In the field of employment, most opportunities available to Aboriginal people, who are able, but without a great deal of education, are 'closed' positions, jobs for which Aboriginal people do not have the qualifications to compete on the open market.

Without further education, opportunities will remain closed, the people insecure, their jobs subject to the vagaries of funding, without real career opportunities, the possibility of emerging leadership uncertain.

It is argued that social/occupational status will be achieved through higher standards of education[1].

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[1]It should be noted that the situation of the Aboriginal people may be equated with that in developing Third World countries, where education for the masses is a prime objective.

In the totally Aboriginal society at Strelley, esteem comes from the worth of the person. Here too, status is located in educational background. The individual is closely watched, certain talents recognised, and a long, ongoing process of education undertaken to fit him for a chosen role, for example, of a person as a leader in the Law, a role occupied only by a person educated to a high degree.

The problem for the urban people becomes one of establishing conditions where leaders can emerge, leaders who are not separated from their people by education, but on the contrary whose education, like that of the people at Strelley, contexts them back *into* the group.

The research findings show that Aboriginal students within school structures, both at Port Augusta and Adelaide, have a positive view of the self, and theorize, at the rudimentary level, positively about their 'world'.

For students, the question becomes one of how these positive views held by Aborigines in the school situation can be maintained after students leave the supportive structures of the school, and how such people can take up leadership roles.

A small stream of Aboriginal teachers is beginning to graduate from the Torrens A.T.E.P. programme. Aboriginal people are graduating from the S.A.I.T. programme.

The need is to take steps to see that the able Aboriginal students in schools do not drop out, but proceed to matriculation and enter tertiary education programmes through 'normal' entry requirements, not a 'special' entry, that labels people as 'handicapped'. The education of the able must be such that, as at Strelley, the educated are not separated from the rest of Aboriginal people by the process of education, but, in fact, education prepares them for leadership roles.

(ii) Economic autonomy

The need for separate Aboriginal development has been recognised in the foundation of the National Aboriginal Development Commission, set up in 1980 to finance small business development.

In Port Augusta a small Aboriginal building cooperative wins contracts on the open market. Such forms of economic autonomy are necessary to overcome the prejudice that exists, and has been shown in this study.

A different facet of economic autonomy is found in the capacity for Aboriginal people to compete for open positions.

This, in turn, will be based on educational achievement.

(iii) Autonomy and social structures

Australian multicultural policy is aimed, (at the level of theory), at encouraging diversity among cultural groups. Such a policy presumes social structures which nurture such diversity.

27.4 Locus for the construction of Aboriginal identity

Where can the locus of social structures, nurturing cultural differences, be found for Aborigines?

The Strelley experience suggests that one such locus may be found in a community school - that is, an independent school structured to meet the various needs of the community and over which the community exercises autonomy.

The establishment of an independent school at Strelley is a focal point of autonomy.

For Strelley the return to the structures provided by kinship groupings, rather than voluntary aggregation, is only made possible if schools are established along with migrations[1]. The school is seen as central to the needs of the people in building group identity. It is, of course, the school qua community school that is important. Economic interests, social interaction and schooling form a whole.

The emphasis on the importance of education is one that is shared by both urban and traditional Aborigines. For urban Aborigines, an emphasis on building social structures within the school situation, which will work towards providing a coherent Aboriginal identity, is a valuable lesson to be learned from Strelley.

The desire for autonomy is a value shared by both groups. The desire for a specifically Aboriginal identity is shared by both groups.

It is posited that one way of achieving these desires will be by using the school as a base. The autonomy achieved by Strelley, it is posited, may be achieved in an embryonic form by urban Aborigines through community (i.e. independent) schools.

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[1] When Warralong was established in 1979 it became clear that the group could only maintain cohesion if a school was established.

Coongan, only six miles away, has no children in the group. The people with children move to Warralong. The men involved in the establishment of Lala Rookh in 1980 put high priority on the negotiation for a school as part of their decision to go to a new location.

Carlindi station has a handful of people, insufficient for the needs of the station. The reason given for this is that there is no school. People are unwilling to go there.

An independent community school offers the following possibilities:

> a locus where Aborigines are supported by each other in the structuring and maintenance of an Aboriginal identity
>
> a situation where Aborigines can be the dominant group and have a degree of autonomy
>
> a situation which can be tailored to suit the specific learning/social needs of Aborigines
>
> a situation where the education of children does not have to separate children from parents, but can be used as a base for parent education as well as child education
>
> a situation which is structured towards success for Aborigines
>
> a situation which encourages academic excellence and promotes the entry of students into tertiary education and continues to support them there
>
> it offers a further choice of identity for Aboriginal people in addition to those now available
>
> it offers a situation giving positive meaning to identity
>
> it provides for the development of leaders not separated from the community
>
> it provides a locus for Aboriginal people to work at consciously building value systems
>
> it provides a real basis for pride and not a rhetorical basis
>
> it provides for indoctrination into a system of values
>
> it provides a focus and a necessity and a content for theorizing.

The Aborigines who were members of the 1975 Consultative Group of the Schools Commission lamented that the existing schools did not serve Aboriginal needs. The evidence is clear that students in the group studied evinced a strong belief in the value of schooling.

It is concluded that, since it is the schools which already are the institutions recognising differences amongst the Aboriginal people, the school situations could provide a locus for identity construction and maintenance by Aboriginal people. Some ethnic groups, strongly oriented towards identity-maintenance, have focussed on this area as achieving their aims.

It is acknowledged that the study shows that the schools where Aboriginal students are most accepted are those with a strain towards assimilation.

Interviews suggested that, for certain Aboriginal individuals, pride in achievement together with Freud's 'obscure emotional forces' binding people to Aboriginal ancestry, is sufficient to locate them in a secure Aboriginal identity. For this group, the policy of 'assimilating' schools is appropriate.

For others, there is the need to locate themselves within an Aboriginal group identity, to construct a model having some of the characteristics of the Strelley model and the Pt. Augusta model.

It is argued that the elements of such a model can be nurtured within an Aboriginal independent school.

The proposal of independent schools is not geared towards assimilation. On the contrary, their aims would be specifically to counter the nihilation of an Aboriginal symbolic universe. Their purpose would be towards the building of a 'world' that is Aboriginal in content, that would provide a basis for the cultivation of causal-meaningful bonds within Aboriginal groups.

The proposed solution is one of changing school structures to foster Aboriginal identity at a level where it has been shown that there is support for a multi-structural as well as a multi-cultural situation.

27.41 The question of segregation

Segregation was seen above[1] as a policy of management by nihilation. The same policy at the school level was put into practice in Port Augusta[2], until 1968, by the segregation of Aborigines from the content of secondary schooling and the source of secondary schooling (i.e., schools in the town). Segregation of Aborigines within the secondary school system, once they were admitted, was also put into effect with consequences disastrous both for teachers and students.

Negative stereotyping and discrimination define boundaries from without for Aborigines. Voluntary self-segregation, 'forming groups to get somewhere', is a step that turns to advantage the formerly imposed segregation and permits the putting into practice of the ideal of self-determination, firmly internalized by Aboriginal people, particularly at the micro-cosmic level of 'doing things for themselves'.

It has been pointed out above that racist groups, in white society, while imposing segregation as a means of control, violently reject self-segregation for Aborigines as a means of gaining autonomy[3].

However, in mainstream society, the segregation of students into the Independent school sector has long been accepted as serving manifest and latent functions for groups within that society.

That is the purpose of an independent school.

White mainstream society accepts independent schools as a given for themselves; nevertheless, the establishment of independent schools for a minority, nihilated sector could well present a problem of acceptance by the host society.

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[1] See p. 101.

[2] This practice was not, of course, particular to Pt. Augusta. Aborigines were segregated into reserves throughout Australia.

[3] See p. 104 ff.

However, the research project has shown that where there are visible groupings of Aborigines, as at S.A.I.T. and Port Augusta, these students, despite negative stereotyping by non-Aborigines, have a strong self-image. It is, therefore, possible to argue that Aborigines would survive the rejection they encounter, precisely because they are visible, they are grouped together in a way that gives mutual support in building identity.

The establishment of independent schools contains within itself the possibility of adaptation of methods of teaching and structures of schooling to meet the needs of Aborigines.

It contains within itself the possibility of not separating children from parents, but involving the parents in the school, an opportunity not always seen as real either by white or Aboriginal parents in the school situation.

It establishes the opportunity for the real making of choices - those Aborigines whose bent is towards assimilation in white society have the possibility of choosing to enrol in schools where Aborigines as a group are not visible, and where there is a reduction of the negative approach of white students.

Those who opt not only for acknowledgement of origins, but for a structuring and maintaining of Aboriginal identity, do not need to seek reduction of hostility. After school they will go into a wider society where they will encounter hostility as long as they are seen as Aborigines. Their need is to seek, in a situation building confidence and building identity, an inner strength capable of coping with hostility and rejection.

The choice of Aboriginal people at Port Augusta is clear - they opt for enrolment at the D.F.E. where there are enclave courses for Aboriginal people. They opt for having pre-employment courses at the Davenport Aboriginal education centre where they are more comfortable still.

The crucial need lies in structuring an independent school striving for academic excellence, opening opportunities to higher education, making possible real choices of status occupations, providing people to give leadership and coherence and direction to the construction of an Aboriginal identity.

This is not the sort of independent school Aborigines have been subjected to in the past. Segregation on a reserve resulted in child-minding by untrained personnel, or in the hit and miss education offered by station managers or their wives.

If high quality independent schools are available for Aboriginal urban people, and are structured as community schools, then the possibility is provided for the exercise of some degree of autonomy in the school situation.

It is posited that it would be to those who exercised leadership roles within the microcosm of the school that the Aboriginal world could look to exercise Aboriginal leadership roles in the wider community.

At the present time, unbearable pressure is put upon educated Aboriginal community leaders by the demands made on the small pool of people available for responsible positions.

Aboriginal university graduates can be counted on one's fingers, a group so small as to shame the social structures of mainstream society.

It could be seen as one of the functions of an Aboriginal independent school to prepare as many Aboriginal students as possible for tertiary studies, and to enable them to enter tertiary studies on the same basis as other students without needing special entry requirements.

There is the further problem that the educated Aborigine has often had to become part of white society as part of pursuing his education. It has been seen that the Strelley Mob rejected this

in the strongest possible terms, theorizing that such a course would result in the destruction of their value system.

Independent schooling in the urban situation could achieve the same aim set so firmly by Strelley, that of educating students to the final years of schooling, and preparing them for tertiary education, without separating them from the significant others in their lives, whether peer group or adults.

Success in schooling is entwined with success in employment on two counts. The axiom that 'One becomes that which one is addressed' holds. If Aborigines are successful at school and theorize about their success there will be greater hope of success in post-school years.

27.42 A race within a race

It has been seen that Port Augusta students, though stereotyped negatively and theorized about negatively by the host group, nevertheless, of all the groups studied, have the most positive view of 'Australians'.

There is no evidence to support the allegations of politicians that a voluntary grouping together of Aborigines creates a race within a race that divides Australia and causes race hatred, at least on the part of Aborigines. It may do this on the part of white society; but this is a white problem, not an Aboriginal problem.

Independent schools, whether elite or parish schools, return their graduates to society, supported to some extent by an 'old boy' network, but not acting as a bloc in the everyday life of wider society.

It can be posited that an independent school would do the same for Aborigines.

A second possibility reflecting the arguments propounded for independent schools, lies in providing enclaves for Aboriginal students within established schools. An arrangement of this kind provides almost all the advantages offered by an independent school,with the exception of the degree of autonomy possible for Aboriginal people in formulating policy.

The enclave system provides a solution that may be more immediately introduced,and will more immediately show forth results which can be incorporated into further theorizing.

27.5 Summary

It is concluded that different Aboriginal groups conceptualize Aboriginal identity differently.

For some, Aboriginal identity consists of living in a white world, and acknowledging Aboriginal ancestry with pride.

For others, Aboriginal identity is an identity alternative to that of white society; it is an identity that must be constructed.

It is concluded that one locus appropriate for the construction and perpetuation of a group identity, within which Aboriginal identity may be achieved,is the school.

27.6 Further research and action

Further research touching on concerns of Aboriginal people is almost without end. So little has been done in this field; there is so much to be done.

The present research project was seen as providing a basis for intervention. A discussion of further areas for research will therefore be limited to areas within the compass of this particular research worker, and limited to the conclusions reached, rather than the overall research findings which generate further research.

We have maintained that a positive image for Aboriginal people can be generated where the group is sufficiently large to construct a society which can exist parallel to white society in providing leadership.

Groups in tradition-oriented society have generated their community schools to perpetuate their social structures.

The present suggestion is the reverse of this: namely that independent community schools for Aborigines would *generate structures* allowing the building of Aboriginal groups within which Aboriginal identity can be secured.

Further research, then, would be directed to isolating those Aboriginal people wanting an independent school, working with them to structure schools to suit their needs until such time as there are sufficient Aboriginal graduates to staff these schools and be responsible themselves for interacting with their own people to determine policy and practice.

The need for Aboriginal graduates, so that policy decisions can be made by Aboriginal people themselves, is of the utmost importance.

As a matter of urgency, research should be directed to identifying measures encouraging able students now in schools, from whom leadership can be expected, to proceed to tertiary education.

The need is to direct research to highlight those factors which will make it possible for students with positive theorizing to counter forces which negate this positive self-image as they leave schools.

For these reasons, it is proposed to establish the following research programmes.

(i) Research connected with the establishment of an Aboriginal enclave group within an independent school.

It is proposed to establish, in 1984 an intervention programme within an established Independent school, in the form of an enclave group for able Aboriginal students intending to go on to tertiary education in some form.

The programme will be specifically directed towards the construction of an Aboriginal identity.

A research project will be constructed to provide bases of evaluation for this programme, aimed at bringing about a cohesive value system, and achieving educational standards which permit 'normal' entry to tertiary education[1].

(ii) A research programme will be initiated in 1983 to provide case studies of able Aboriginal students who drop out of school, to isolate factors associated with drop-out, and construct an intervention programme to counter problems causing withdrawal from the school system.

(iii) A longitudinal study will be undertaken to follow up those students going on to tertiary education in order to isolate factors which prove to be problematic for Aboriginal graduate students as they move out into the work force.

EPILOGUE

If black Australians are to become masters of their own destiny, white Australians must recognise them as being capable of formulating their own policy of advancement ... Black Australians ... must define what is best for their own advancement and then they can determine where white Australians can be of assistance.
(Kath Walker, an Aboriginal poet).

The marrngu are the boss - it's our turn now! (Strelley)

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[1]Details of the intervention programme have already been approved by authorities from an independent school who are prepared to cooperate in this venture. The submission prepared, showing the aims and objectives, is found in Appendix X.

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APPENDIX I

People consulted in defining the problem to be researched

Adelaide

Staff of McNally - South Australian Youth Training Centre for Juvenile Offenders
Police
Department of Community Welfare research group (8) * 1
State Education
Aboriginal Education
*Mr. Lewis O'Brien (Pennington - Western Region Advisory)
*Mrs. Olga Fudge
*Mrs. Glad Elphick
*Mrs. Leila Rankine-Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music.
John Ingram-Aboriginal Community College
David Hope-South Australian Institute of Technology
*Janice Koolmatri-Torrens College of Advanced Education, ATEP programme)
*John Wylie & 13 Aboriginal Teacher Assistants (State Education)
*Bob Hampton)
*Willy Golan)
*Mrs. Johnson) Aboriginal Hostels
*Mrs. Huddleston)
Meg Braddock-Aboriginal Housing

Port Augusta

Lauren Bywaters)
Gerry Van Rooth)
Christine Warren) Department of Further Education
Brice Foster)
*Andrew Thomas Teacher-aid

Adult Education Davenport

Claudette Cusack

Port Augusta Schools

Principal and Counsellor:

Caritas High School
Augusta Park High School
Port Augusta High School
Carlton Primary School
Augusta Park Primary School
Central Primary School
Caritas Primary School

Tutors: Hartley College of Advanced Teacher Training Programme

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* Those starred are Aboriginal people.

TABLE B.4: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

	NO SCHOOLING	PRIMARY ONLY	1ST YR 2'NDARY	2ND YR 2'NDARY	3RD YR 2'NDARY	4TH YR 2'NDARY	5TH YR 2'NDARY
EMPLOYED %	43.7 (N=7)	47.1 (N=49)	25.8 (N=8)	35.3 (N=12)	47.2 (N=17)	65.0 (N=13)	100.0 (N=4)
UNEMPLOYED %	56.3 (N=9)	52.9 (N=55)	74.2 (N=23	64.7 (N=22)	52.8 (N=19)	35.0 (N=7)	0.0 (N=0)

(Powell, 1978:41)

TABLE B.5: OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS

	(i) SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	(ii) SKILLED	(iii) SEMI-SKILLED	(iv) UN-SKILLED	(v) TRAINING
OPEN EMPLOYMENT MARKET %	2.7 (N=3)	1.8 (N=2)	20.0 (N=22)	20.9 (N=23)	6.3 (N=7)
"CLOSED" POSITIONS	5.4 (N=6)	0.0 (N=0)	26.3 (N=29)	16.3 (N=18)	

(Powell, 1978:41)

TABLE B.7: EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS' LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN PORT AUGUSTA AND LENGTH OF TIME EMPLOYED

	RESIDENCE					
Time empl.	Under 1 yr	1-2 yrs	2-5 yrs	5-10 yrs	10-20 yrs	Over 20 yrs
Under 3 mths	50.0 (N=1)	37.5 (N=3)	17.6 (N=3)	5.0 (N=1)	24.1 (N=7)	10.7 (N=3)
Under 1 yr	50.0 (N=1)	25.0 (N=2)	41.2 (N=7)	40.0 (N=8)	31.0 (N=9)	25.0 (N=7)
Over 1 yr	37.5 (N=3)	41.2 (N=7)	55.0 (N=11)	44.8 (N=13)	64.3 (N=18)	

(Powell, 1978:43)

APPENDIX II (contd.)

TABLE B.17

"WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST PLACE IN TOWN TO TRAIN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE?"

	% OF SAMPLE	N=
College of F.E.	23.1	57
Davenport A.T.C.	41.7	103
Aboriginal Social Club	2.8	7
A.N.R.	0.8	2
Woma	0.8	2
Other	6.1	15
Don't know	23.5	58
Not Answered/N.A.	1.2	3

(Powell, 1978:53)

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY BY METROPOLITAN AND COUNTRY GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

	Metropolitan		Country		Total
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	
High		323		374	697
Area & Special Rural			285	162	447
Primary & Rural	515		680	2	1,197
Junior Primary	119		57		176
Special Aboriginal			772	142	914
Special Schools	23	12	6		41
Correspondence School			53	10	63
Total	657	335	1,853	690	3,535

NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

	Metropolitan		Country		Total
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	
High		31		4	35
Combined High & Primary	9	44	3	2	58
Primary	36		7		43
Special Schools	1				1
Total	46	75	10	6	137

GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

	Metropolitan		Country		Total
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	
High		354		378	732
Area & Special Rural			285	162	447
Combined High & Primary	9	44	3	2	58
Primary & Rural	551		687	2	1,240
Junior Primary	119		57		176
Special Aboriginal			772	142	914
Special Schools	24	12	6		42
Correspondence			53	10	63
Total	703	410	1,863	696	3,672

Aboriginal students in Pre-Schools attached to Junior Primary, Primary, Area or Aboriginal Schools are included in the Primary total.

(Education Department of South Australia, 1980).

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS BY TYPE WITH ABORIGINAL STUDENTS - 1980

GOVERNMENT

Type of School	Number of Schools		
	With 5 or more Aboriginal Students	With Less Than 5 Aboriginal Students	Total
Metropolitan High	24	34	58
Country High	16	13	29
Area & Special Rural	13	11	24
Metropolitan Primary	42	57	99
Metropolitan Junior Primary	11	17	28
Country Primary & Rural	33	37	70
Country Junior Primary	4	4	8
Aboriginal	13	-	13
Special	3	11	14
Correspondence	1	-	1
Total	160	184	344

NON-GOVERNMENT

Type of School	Number of Schools		
	With 5 or more Aboriginal Students	With Less than 5 Aboriginal Students	Total
High	3	6	9
Combined High & Primary	3	18	21
Primary	2	21	23
Special	-	1	1
Total	8	46	54

(Education Department of South Australia, 1980).

	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980	
	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.
High		532		632		653		708		748*		778*
Area & Special Rural	262	146	285	118	281	160	306	157	329	166	285	162
Primary & Rural	1,207		1,386		1,374		1,343*		1,419*		1,426*	2
Aboriginal Schools	707	83	898	89	860	101	793	172	765	137	772	142
Special Schools					29	11	26	5	28	3	30	12
Correspondence School					17	43	15	15	29	29	53	10
Sub Total	2,176	761	2,569	839	2,561	968	2,483	1,057	2,570	1,083	2,566	1,106
Total	2,937		3,408+		3,529+		3,540+		3,653+		3,672+	

Aboriginal students in Pre-schools attached to Junior Primary, Primary, Area or Aboriginal Schools are included in the Primary totals.

\+ Figures from 1976-1980 include Non-Government Schools.

* Includes students in combined Primary-Secondary Non-Government Schools.

(Education Department of South Australia, 1980).

APPENDIX IV

DOCUMENTATION: STRELLEY

REPORTS

Submission to the Land Rights meeting, Jameson (1978).

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BIOGRAPHIES

Stuart, Donald (1959) Yandy, Georgian House, Melbourne.

Brown, Max (1976) The Black Eureka, Australasian Book Society, Sydney.

APPENDIX VA

STRELLEY INTERVIEWS - AREAS

STRELLEY — Issues for taped interviews with staff and important men derived from document appended.

POLICY — Determination of policy on education
- pre school
- bridging
- school age
- adult

Statement of policy

Communication of policy -
- community
- parents
- teachers
- systems level

Implications of policy -
- cognitive
- social
- affective
- cultural

Policy on school organization

role of
- community
- parent
- teacher - authority figure
- role specific
- member of community
- teacher aide

employment of teachers
allocation of teachers
allocation of students

Systems level

Interaction with:-

Commonwealth Education
Schools Commission
State Education Department
D.A.A.
Other

Implications for self-determination

Funding

EVALUATION
- Colin Tatz - Aboriginal Studies, University of New England., N.S.W.
- John Sherwood - Principal, Aboriginal Teacher Education, Mt. Lawley, Perth.
- State Inspectors - Western Australia.
- others?
- Teachers

CHANGE IN POLICY

How decided
How structured
How implemented

CHANGES IN STRUCTURES

EDUCATION PROGRAMME

preschool
bridging
post-school
adolescent
adult education

Curriculum - how, by whom
determined
approved
implemented

Methodology - what is stated rationale
of methodology used

Allocation of time to subjects
rationale?

Organization of school year

Language policy rationale?

Discipline - management of -
inter-group
intra-group } tension
personal

Parental interaction

ACHIEVEMENT

how defined?

Definition - by teachers
community
parents

Measurement cognitive - past tests
cumulative
records

Social - teacher communication/
perception of previously
established behavioural
reputations

Expectation - teacher
parent - achievement and
parental approval
community

Valued characteristics of child

Valued characteristics of teacher

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Demography - adult population
employment
children - school age
birth rate
death rate
loss/gain of population

Health - permission to talk to health care staff

Welfare - care of aged
sick

Housing - allocation
organization

Employment - jobs available for adults
for youths
allocation of jobs
prestige
leadership roles

Social interaction - membership of groups
relations with other groups of Aborigines
intergroup pressures - source
intergroup pressures - solution

non-Aboriginal families
male
female - acceptance by Aborigines
children

Politics - Aborigines as part of a multi-cultural Australia
interaction with Government
areas of conflict in building a new society
main issues

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

allocation of community income
disparities in income?
management of buying/selling
domestic goods,
cars etc.

Cultural Structures

education into the culture (school as 'other', or integrated into total educational programme)
family structures traditional?
new structure?
dichotomy between old and youth?
traditional rites
customs
language
religion
social organization
law
leisure

Deviancy definitions of deviancy
punishment
deviants' perception of punishment
shame
school - problem of truancy?

Status ..... ascribed ..... achieved

personal status
job status (including teaching)
leadership roles
male/female

Identity definition of identity
identity building structures
identity maintaining structures
choice of identity - present
future
possibility, acceptability of bi-culturation

Discussion of model(s) of Aboriginal world.

APPENDIX VB

Structuring of questions to be asked in interviews at Strelley

In 1971 a National workshop on Aboriginal Education was held in Brisbane.

Papers presented at the workshop were published under the title, "The National Workshop on Aboriginal Education, Priorities for Action and Research" (Ed., B. Watts). Much of the thrust was addressed to tradition-oriented situations.

Key speakers were

Watts, B.H.	Key problems Common to All Age Groups and Styles of Life.
Von Sturmer, J.	The Place of the Community in the Educational Process: Two Aboriginal Settlements in Cape York.
Boyes, M.	The Cultural context of Aboriginal Education.

Mandel and Flanders (1975), in an article entitled "Teacher's achievement expectations of and classroom interactions with ethnically different students" (Contemporary Education, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, Spring, 1975), discussed 'naturalistic factors' as being potent determinants of teacher expectation.

Watts' and Mandel and Flanders' writings were analysed to isolate issues which related to education in a tradition-oriented situation. Interview questions were then derived from this analysis.

The areas to be investigated in interviews follow, together with the analysis of the literature which provided the context for the questions to be posed.

STRUCTURING OF INTERVIEW AREAS AT STRELLEY

In view of the necessity to map the world of meaning with which individuals interact to form their identity, the 'world' of the Aboriginal person was first examined as it is found in research literature, with special reference to educational settings. In particular, Watts (1971) and Mandel and Flanders (1975) provided research material appropriate to a tradition-oriented situation. Issues to be discussed and questions to be asked were drawn from an analysis of the literature.

Review of literature with areas for investigation drawn from this literature

I. Bi-culturation

Boyes (Watts, 1971) discusses the problem of bi-culturation in a transitional society.

It is asserted here that except in special circumstances biculturation is not an option for Aboriginal people. (Gilbert's writing supports this, in Tatz, 1975).

Rather it is an example of a situation structured for anomie. The goal of bi-culturalism is encouraged. The means of reaching this goal are explicated. But when both goals and means are embraced there is a sudden meeting with the reality of white society, which involves not the withdrawal adaptation outlined by Merton, but a rejection by white people. Evidence must be sought to support this in the social structures in employment opportunities, in friendship patterns, in group associations

Issues for discussion

students view of employment
of friendship patterns
membership of groups

visits to whites
visits from whites
visits to blacks
visits from blacks

II Inter-group Relations

Watts 1971:152

(1) When Aborigines are moved from bush into settlement, social horizons are immediately narrowed in spatial terms, but widened in social terms. Traditional

Questions

(1) Are there problems at Strelley of groups that are at odds?

How are these problems solved?

enemies are brought together and forced to interact at a relatively harmonious, or ostensibly harmonious face to face level.

Watts 1971:188

(2) The pressures of intergroup relations are of more significance than attempts to adjust to white society.

(3) There is a lack of continuity between village experience and Western social life.

In the educational situation, how are individuals grouped?

(2) Question: Where do intergroup pressures lie at Strelley?

(3) Question: Petrol, Food, Clothes, Cars } how is the buying/selling organized?

III Social Status (Watts, 1971:152)

At Edward River the Thayor side group regards itself as a cut above the Mungkans. They are more achievement oriented. Their view of their rival group is shared by white staff. There is a simple hierarchy operating.
White staff - Thayor side - Mungkan side descending order.

(1) Question: Does this happen at Strelley? i.e. is there some sort of hierarchy in different tribes, between white and Aborigine?

IV Personal social status (Watts, 1971:153)

On social status depended in large measure

(1) one's chance of prestigious jobs.

(1) Question: Are any jobs at Strelley more prestigious than others? How are these obtained?

(2) Watts (1971:160) Stockwork rates supreme in achievement aspiration.	(2) How is education correlated with jobs?
(3) The siting of one's place of residence.	(3) Look for structures at Strelley allowing individual adaptation..
(4) The degree of familiarity with white staff	(4) Does personal status lie in degree of familiarity with white staff?
(5) Watts (1971:12) men degraded	(5) Question: Establish status of man's role at Strelley? Woman's role. Role connected with employment - income or ascribed status role.
V <u>Personal adjustment - economic stability</u> <u>Watts (1971:183)</u> As many families are coping with severe and multiple problems of personal adjustment and economic stability, to expect them to carry the degree of responsibility carried by families in more favourable circumstances can amount to intolerable pressure.	Question: Do disparities occur in economic structures at Strelley? in community adjustment? Does the extended family operate? or family units?
VI <u>Watts (1971:51)</u> Deficiency in auditory discrimination and in listening skills.	Establish Strelley perception - lack of interest/lack of discrimination? Health care?

VII Consultation with parents

Mitchell (in Watts:1971:144) claims that 'The fundamental in current thinking on Aboriginal affairs is that Aborigines should be consulted, yet such idealism is fraught with many practical problems. Accepting that Aborigines have the same range of abilities and the same diversity of experiences, it is not surprising to find that any attempt at consultation results in a range of opinions. This should not serve as an excuse to avoid the issue, but one of the administrative real problems is that consultation is not simply a survey of opinion, a gallop poll or chit-chat between Director and Aboriginal residents on a reserve.

Aboriginal opinions are to be gauged by representatives or by referendum.

VIII Parental expectations
Teacher expectations
Child's expectations
Middle class expectations

Watts (1971:56) points out areas which are significant in determining children's degree of interest and commitment.

(1) Establish how consultative process works at Strelley.

(2) Question: (1) At Strelley how are educational programmes and policy determined? (2) Are there teacher aides? What is their role and status? (3) How do western teachers view their professional status? (4) Is any special attention paid to specifically Aboriginal styles of learning, modes of cognition. (5) Involvement of parents? (6) Art forms, music, dancing, story telling. Do these belong to the school as such?

(1) the school as an open system

(2) attitudes and aspirations of parents -
some oppose
some are indifferent
some want children to be educated but don't know how to achieve this

(3) attitudes and aspirations of children

(4) child's self concept

(5) teachers' cultural bias

(6) teachers' expectations

(7) climate of community opinion which expects low achievement.

(1) Why do Aborigines go to school? What do Aborigines expect from the school? How long does Strelley want white teachers to stay in the school? Seek answers to questions left by John Sherwood (Director of A.T.E.P. programme Mt. Lawley).

(2) Seek to identify attitudes and aspirations of the parents.
Question: Are there leaders among Aboriginal group?
How are these appointed?
How do they exercise leadership to reach policy?

(3/4) Seek to identify attitudes and aspirations of children

(5/6) What are teachers expectations of individual children - of the group as a whole?

(7) Does community expect high achievement
low achievement
skills to master environment?

IX Middle-class expectations
Watts (1971:63).

(a) a desire to come to school

(b) enjoyment of school activities

(c) obedience

(d) a willingness to think for themselves and ask questions when they do not understand

(e) a readiness for school
- material
- mental - preparedness
- physical

(f) a desire to compete against their classmates

(g) a desire to compete against themselves.

Personal perceptions (a) - (g).

Teacher perceptions

(a) Is schooling compulsory for school age students? for pre-school? Are there any truants?

X Reification (Watts, 1971:159)

Some teachers are perhaps too eager to make sweeping generalizations on what is right or wrong with Aborigines because they are forced into the position of having to explain to themselves why the techniques they employed so successfully, outside with white children, so obviously fail with their Aboriginal classes.

Question - Strelley

(1) Do teachers theorize about Aboriginal cognitive styles?

(2) Do they change methods to meet these needs?

(3) What rationale do white teachers give for methods used?

(4) What rationale do Aboriginal teachers give for methods used with pre-school children, and bridging classes?

XI 1. Decision making (Watts, (1971:153)

Community life has meant that aborigines have forfeited individual decision-making powers, especially in

(1) the economic sphere
(2) law and order
(3) residence
(4) living arrangements
(5) education
(6) health (handed over to white staff)

Question: are these powers (a) personal at Strelley
(b) handed over to community leaders
(c) handed over to white staff

2. Autonomy

(Edward River) The staff are the directors and controllers. The aborigines are the directed and controlled. The staff and everything associated with them repesent authority (The Aboriginal council and Aboriginal police are extensions of this authority). Authority and life-style are integrated.

(1) Question: What is relationship between staff and Aborigines at Strelley?
(2) Do they have Aboriginal police?
(3) Are there different life-styles for Aborigines and white people (i.e. are Aborigines expected to conform to white expectations?)

Watts (1971:160)

3. The school is another branch of the law.

3. Question: How are teachers perceived at Strelley?
as authority figures?
as role-specific?
as friends?

XII Teacher's achievement expectations of and classroom interactions with ethnically different students
Contemporary Education Vol. XLVI, No, 3, Spring 1975.

Mandel and Flanders (1975) suggest that "naturalistic factors" are more potent determinants of teacher expectations than contrived factors.

Naturalistic inputs include such factors as:

1. communications about students received from other teachers, parents, administrators
2. cumulative achievement rewards
3. standardized past scores
4. previously established behavioural reputations
5. physical characteristics: Sex
   physical attractiveness
   level of motivation
   socio-economic status

1. Do teachers have communications from other teachers, parents, administrators about a student?
2. Cumulative achievement records?
3. Standardized test scores?
4. Previously established behavioural reputations
5. Are physical characteristics valued?
   (1) sex
   (2) physically attractive
6. Is importance attached to (1) level of motivation
   (2) socio-economic status
   (in this case, achievement in housing/clothing/language.

Record perceptions of teacher attitudes to Aboriginal adults and children.

XIII Teacher respect and student identity

The Watts' Workshop stated that Aborigines need to be 'assured of respect from non-Aborigines - since such respect is a pre-requisite for pride in ethnic identity. The workshop placed particular emphasis in this respect on the attitudes of teachers to aborigines'.

XIV *School and Identity* *Watts (1971:149)*

1. Schooling is rejected because it will cause a further breakdown in Aboriginality.

1. Question: Follow up the idea that identity is not sought in itself (as happiness cannot be sought in itself) but structuring the community (Cf. Tonnies, Durkheim, Berger) in a certain way produces identity.

Watts (1971:156)

2. Note wall of silence when Von Sturmer became a teacher.

(a) Strong unwillingness to respond verbally

(b) Almost unpredictable 'underworld' life activating the class

(c) intergroup and interpersonal tensions outside the classroom.

2. In what ways does school break down/build identity? Question: Structures of school behaviour as opposed to camp behaviour.

Watts (1971:159)

3. School teachers differ from white staff in that they are faced with the additional disadvantage that they are dealing only with children.

3. Establish interaction of white staff apart from school, interaction of wives?

Watts (1971:160)

4. The role of the teacher in our society is largely depersonalised.

4. Role of teacher at Strelley depersonalised?

5. Adolescents. Traditionalism imposes its own authority in the schools. In the village they keep themselves separate, indulge in frequent fighting especially within family groups, and become surly and uncommunicative. Von Sturmer (in Watts, 1971:158).

5. Structures of Adolescence at Strelley.

6. In the general anxiety kinship affiliators may play a part. The individual may have in his class an 'F' or 'M' or 'FF' or 'FM' 'My B' potential father-in-law, 'FZ' (potential mother in law) or My BD.

6. Structures for management of kinship affiliations.

XV

Cultural Pluralism Watts (1971:151)

J. Von Sturmer state that: "Traditional culture is encouraged - or more accurately a start has been made in this direction - but only in things such as dancing, singing and painting. It is cultural on this strictly superficial level. There has been no encouragement of traditional social institutions or social forms.

Identify at Strelley the structural forms that are being adopted.

Establish traditional social institutions being revived:

law
traditional education
traditional rites
traditional rites
traditional customs
language
social organization
religion
marriage

XVI Western Cognitive Modes (Watts (1971:54-55)

Piaget tests of conservation (Von Sturmer)

(1) Low contact Aborigines perform at approximately the same level as the Hermansberg and Areyonga groups. High contact Aborigines perform comparably with non-Aborigines of low socio-economic status, who, in turn, perform at a much lower level than those of high socio-economic status.

Question (1) Have Strelley children been tested?

(2) What sort of tests?

(3) What were the results?

(4) How do Strelley teachers interpret Von Sturmer's tests, results, interpretation?

(2) In general then, tests of conservation and of classification show Aboriginal children to be retarded in their cognitive development relative to non-Aboriginal control samples, the degree of retardation varying with their special circumstances.

(3) Because of the lag suffered by Aboriginal children and because of the necessity of concrete operational thinking for even moderate success in western cultures, it is essential that schools institute remedial or compensatory programmes.

XVII Segregated Schools Mitchell (Watts, 1971: p. 138-139).
(1) 'The N.S.W. Aborigines Advisory Council condemned the continuation of all Aboriginal schools. They resolved to bring to the Ministers notice the fact that these schools continue to operate and are regarded by the community as second rate.'

2. If there is high achievement according to western standards to what do teachers attribute this?

3. Discussion with teachers
(1) Does this not conflict with earlier line to take account of Aboriginal way of thinking etc. etc.,
(2) Does notion of remedial/compensatory programmes suggest social pathology model?
(3) Compare with Watts; 1971:20-21, 1-14. That research establish ways in which Australian school children, particularly at the secondary school level be introduced to tradition-oriented Aborigines' thought processes and concepts of logic, and where appropriate and relevant the study of Aboriginal language.

(1) Strelley: Does Strelley see itself as second rate?

(2) Conversely if it is accepted that Aboriginal identity demands a unique syllabus, special schools will remain, but not as presently constituted.

(3) Watts (1971:47), teaching in the vernacular.

(4) Watts (1971:155).

Education is not directed towards the community or its actual needs, but towards an idealized state, i.e. the community as a potential microcosm of Western Society.

XVIII Funding

Watts (1971:141) The suggestion is made that Aborigines should contribute to the funding of their schools.

(2) Establish how this is structured,

pre-school?
bridging group?
school age?
adult education?

(3) Family conversation?
Conversation with others?

(4) Question: Distinguish where education is directed.
Established total population of community.
Population of school age - curriculum.
Adult population being educated: Numbers.
Language of education

Question: How is Strelley funded in its various aspects

- pre school
- bridging
- school-age
- adult education
- adult literacy (English)
- adult literacy (vernacular)

XIX ABSEG grants

Watts: (1971:66).

Question. Does it help able students who are ready for secondary, or does it come too late?

Question: Does Strelley see a continuation to secondary (general aim)?
Does it see numeracy, literacy in accordance with a goal (carpentry, cattle breeding, skin tanning)?

XX School organization

Watts (1971:161)

(1) At Aurukun they have a long period at midday for rest. At Aurunkun and Edward River children have their holidays in the wet.

(1) Question: How is the school year organized?

(2) Children are at school in the dry when people head back to their traditional lands.

(2) Do Strelley people return to their original lands?

XXI Aims of Education

(a) Education for what?
for community living
for Westernization

(a) Aims of education at Strelley?

XXII Discipline: traditional Law men
Law women

(1) How is 'discipline' formulated?

(2) How is 'discipline' enforced?

APPENDIX VI

DOCUMENTATION: URBAN SITUATION

PT. AUGUSTA

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APPENDIX VIIA

Interview Schedule I - contemporary reality definers(Aboriginal) Urban situation

RESEARCH QUESTIONS Area I

In the view of active contemporary definers of reality

(1) What implications does the term multi-cultural Australia have for Aboriginal people?

(2) Should Aboriginal people form groups? Why? What should be the characteristics of such groups?

How should these groups be formed?

In these groups what are the appropriate structures:

- economic
- social
- educational
- cultural
- political/legal
- linguistic. What language does the person speak/understand?
- religious

What should be the status of these groups in relation to the dominant society?

What should be the status of these groups in relation to other minority groups?

What organizations do Aboriginal people belong to?

Who are their most frequent social contacts?

What sorts of interaction take place between Aboriginal people at Pt. Augusta and tribal people?

(3) In theorizing about Aboriginal identity, what are the characteristics of man, of the human, that are projected?

(4) What are the characteristics of a:

- 'good' student
- 'good' school
- 'good' teacher for Aboriginal people?

What theory is projected about the likely success of Aborigines at school?

(5) What theory is projected about the likelihood of success of Aborigines in gaining employment?

(6) What is the meaning given to the concept of prejudice?
What experience has individual had of prejudice?

(7) What is the meaning given to discrimination?

(8) What is the meaning given to self-determination:

- for the group
- for the individual ?

(9) What theory is projected about deviance and delinquency in the Aboriginal population?

- about the likelihood of going to jail
- of the status of someone who has been to jail
- about the likelihood of alcoholism
- about the cause of alcoholism
- about ways of reducing alcoholism.

(10) What 'theory' is projected about the future of the Aboriginal people as a whole, as groups, as individuals?

(11) Discussion of model(s) of Aboriginal world.

(12) Which other people would you suggest I consult?

APPENDIX VIIB Interview Schedule II

Staff (Non-Aboriginal)

How would you define success for Aboriginal students in this school?

What is your perception of the importance of Aboriginal identity for success?

What is the general philosophy of the school about schooling for Aborigines?

What special effort does the school make to foster:
Aboriginal identity?
Aboriginal success?
Aboriginal employment?

How successful do you think the school is in its efforts?

What special effort do you personally make?

How successful do you think you are?

How do you explain this success or lack of success?

What other avenues could be explored:
by the school?
by you personally?
by the community?

What other comments could you make to help understand the problem of Aboriginal juvenile delinquency, especially as it relates to the education offered?

Who else would you suggest I consult?

Teacher Counsellor was asked to complete fold out form for Aboriginal students in Year 9 and Year 11 surveyed.
Sheet showing traits of Ego-identity and ego-diffusion is discussed as a basis for rating on that category. (See next page).

APPENDIX VIIB (Contd.)

ERIKSON - concepts of ego-identity/ego-diffusion in individual identity

Erikson provides a typology for studying not only identity formation, resulting in ego-identity, but also a situation where the formation of identity fails to take place, resulting in identity diffusion. The work of de Levita and others in Erikson's tradition will be used in this area.

Erikson outlines the following characteristics of Ego-Identity and Identity-Diffusion.

Ego-Identity	Identity-Diffusion
TRUST permits deferral of gratification - allows prediction of behaviour of others - allows generalization.	DISTRUST need for immediate gratification
AUTONOMY AND PRIDE	LACK of AUTONOMY
INITIATIVE	GUILT
INDUSTRY	INFERIORITY
	FEELING OF BEING A NON-PERSON
	EXPECTATION OF REJECTION
	DISBELIEF OF POSSIBILITY OF COMPLETING ANYTHING OF VALUE
	STRAIN TOWARDS DELINQUENCY
	STRAIN TOWARDS WITHDRAWAL

To these we may add

de Levita - FUNCTIONAL CONSTANCY
standing in relation always to the same world, the feeling of occupying a place of one's own in the community

IDENTITY - DIFFUSION

De Levita gives the following characteristics of identity-diffusion or experience of lack of identity accompanying interaction with others:-

* a painfully heightened sense of isolation
* a feeling of disintegration of a sense of inner continuity and sameness
* an overall sense of being ashamed
* an inability to derive a sense of accomplishment from any kind of activity
* a feeling that life is happening to the individual rather than being lived on his initiative
* experiencing an engagement to others as loss of identity
* a wishing that parents had been different
* a radically shortened time perspective
* a basic mistrust

APPENDIX VIIC

Student data sheet
(School Counsellor)

Aboriginal students

Achievement relative to rest of class

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Very poor illiterate or bordering on illiterate	Poor barely literate	Has great difficulty but copes with school work	has difficulty but copes	average for rest of class	slightly above average	has possibility of going on to matric.	

Student data sheet (School Counsellor) Aboriginal students

Employment

	No hope	Some possibility	Likely	Very likely	Almost certain	Type of Employment	No hope	Some hope	Likely	Very likely

Student data sheet (School Counsellor) Aboriginal students

Delinquency	Ego Identity	Ego Diffusion	No Record	Minor Problems	Minor Problems Often	Major Problems

Australians

Circle the line at the point where you would place Australians in general

1.	trustworthy	- - - - -	22. untrustworthy
2.	don't care what a job is as long as the money is good	- - - - -	23. care about status
3.	strong sense of right and wrong	- - - - -	24. poor sense of right and wrong
4.	neglect their children	- - - - -	25. are good parents
5.	have no purpose in life	- - - - -	26. know where they are going
6.	are good providers	- - - - -	27. don't keep jobs
7.	mother makes rules in the house	- - - - -	28. father makes rules
8.	don't take care of possessions, (cars, clothes, house)	- - - - -	29. care for possessions, (cars, clothes, house)
9.	friendly and outgoing	- - - - -	30. unfriendly
10.	aggressive, pick fights	- - - - -	31. live and let live
11.	know when to stop drinking	- - - - -	32. drink too much
12.	often in trouble with police	- - - - -	33. lead law-abiding lives
13.	often in debt	- - - - -	34. careful with money
14.	aware of others' needs	- - - - -	35. put self and family first
15.	speak English well	- - - - -	36. don't speak proper English
16.	have no ambition	- - - - -	37. motivated to get somewhere
17.	waste money	- - - - -	38. generous with money
18.	clean and tidy	- - - - -	39. dirty - uncared for
19.	can't be counted on to do what they say	- - - - -	40. reliable
20.	even tempered	- - - - -	41. quick tempered
21.	other things are more important than money	- - - - -	42. money and possessions important

Now go back and select the <u>five</u> characteristics you think BEST describe Australians.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

APPENDIX VIIIB

SCHEDULE IB

Australian Italians

Circle the line at the point where you would place Australian Italians

1.	trustworthy	- - - - -	22. untrustworthy
2.	don't care what a job is as long as the money is good	- - - - -	23. care about status
3.	strong sense of right and wrong	- - - - -	24. poor sense of right and wrong
4.	neglect their children	- - - - -	25. are good parents
5.	have no purpose in life	- - - - -	26. know where they are going
6.	are good providers	- - - - -	27. don't keep jobs
7.	mother makes rules in the house	- - - - -	28. father makes rules
8.	don't take care of possessions, (cars, clothes, house)	- - - - -	29. care for possessions, (cars, clothes, house)
9.	friendly and outgoing	- - - - -	30. unfriendly
10.	aggressive, pick fights	- - - - -	31. live and let live
11.	know when to stop drinking	- - - - -	32. drink too much
12.	often in trouble with police	- - - - -	33. lead law-abiding lives
13.	often in debt	- - - - -	34. careful with money
14.	aware of others' needs	- - - - -	35. put self and family first
15.	speak English well	- - - - -	36. don't speak proper English
16.	have no ambition	- - - - -	37. motivated to get somewhere
17.	waste money	- - - - -	38. generous with money
18.	clean and tidy	- - - - -	39. dirty - uncared for
19.	can't be counted on to do what they say	- - - - -	40. reliable
20.	even tempered	- - - - -	41. quick tempered
21.	other things are more important than money	- - - - -	42. money and possessions important

Now go back and select the <u>five</u> characteristics you think BEST describe Australian Italians.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

SCHEDULE IC

Australian Aborigines

Circle the line at the point where you would place Australian Aborigines

1.	trustworthy	- - - - -	22. untrustworthy
2.	don't care what a job is as long as the money is good	- - - - -	23. care about status
3.	strong sense of right and wrong	- - - - -	24. poor sense of right and wrong
4.	neglect their children	- - - - -	25. are good parents
5.	have no purpose in life	- - - - -	26. know where they are going
6.	are good providers	- - - - -	27. don't keep jobs
7.	mother makes rules in the house	- - - - -	28. father makes rules
8.	don't take care of possessions, (cars, clothes, house)	- - - - -	29. care for possessions, (cars, clothes, house)
9.	friendly and outgoing	- - - - -	30. unfriendly
10.	aggressive, pick fights	- - - - -	31. live and let live
11.	know when to stop drinking	- - - - -	32. drink too much
12.	often in trouble with police	- - - - -	33. lead law-abiding lives
13.	often in debt	- - - - -	34. careful with money
14.	aware of others' needs	- - - - -	35. put self and family first
15.	speak English well	- - - - -	36. don't speak proper English
16.	have no ambition	- - - - -	37. motivated to get somewhere
17.	waste money	- - - - -	38. generous with money
18.	clean and tidy	- - - - -	39. dirty - uncared for
19.	can't be counted on to do what they say	- - - - -	40. reliable
20.	even tempered	- - - - -	41. quick tempered
21.	other things are more important than money	- - - - -	42. money and possessions important

Now go back and select the <u>five</u> characteristics you think BEST describe Australian Aborigines.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

APPENDIX IX

SOURCES OF TYPIFICATIONS FOR SCHEDULE I

IX.1 Process I Typification of Aborigines by Mainstream Society

IX.11 Government policy and legislation

IX.12 'World' of mainstream society

(i) Favourable views of Aboriginal people at the time of first contact.

(ii) Contemporary research.

IX.13 Government policy and legislation.

The Land Acts[1] dispossessed the Aboriginal people of their land, deprived them of means of gaining food and prevented them from pursuing a life-style that grew out of the Law.

Aboriginal people were made dependent.
They were then typified as dependent
passive
looking for handouts
bad providers
having no purpose in life.

There was insufficient employment on reserves. The men were forced to seek seasonal jobs.

Aboriginal people were typified as 'going walkabout'
and having homes 'lacking in male authority'.

The negative identification of the Aboriginal people typified them as of *bad character*
low standard of intelligence
low standard of development.

Aboriginal people were prevented from buying alcohol. Patterns and typifications were established of drunkenness.

Aborigines were typified as alcoholics

---

[1]See p. 88 of text.

IX.12 World of mainstream society

(i) Favourable views of Aboriginal people at the time of early contact

The present study is concerned with the Aboriginal people of South Australia. It seems worth quoting, therefore, a rather lengthy excerpt from an ethnography of one Aboriginal tribe in that state in order to document a positive view of Aborigines.

Jenkin (1979:19) summarizes his study of the Ngarrindjeri in the following way:

> The most outstanding example of their genius lies in their ability to live richly and harmoniously with each other and with their land.
>
> They were a truly classless society and had reached an apogee as far as refined egalitarian socialism is concerned. Yet if they had to be placed in any European class scale, their mode of life could only be compared with that of the old aristocracy. Their dedication to cultural pursuits - the ballet, music, opera and art; their enjoyment of pomp and ceremony; their strong adherence to ancient codes of chivalry and etiquette; the pleasure they derived from sports and hunting; their great personal courage, pride and independence; their insistence on the right of an initiated man to bear arms and for honour to be honourably defended; their epicurean approach to food; their honest acceptance of human passions and lack of hypocrisy regarding them; these and other aspects of Ngarrindjeri life find distinct parallels in the outlook and way of life of the European aristocracy. The great difference lay in the fact that in Ngarrindjeri society everyone was an aristocrat.

Jenkin (1979:67) quotes Dr. Charles Pickering writing in 1839 of the

> Australian as the finest model of human proportions I have ever met with; in muscular development combining perfect symmetry, activity and strength; while his head might be compared with the antique bust of a philosopher.

Taplin (quoted in Jenkin, 1979:68) spoke in much the same vein. Besides being physically handsome,

> Many of the middle-aged and young men have a quite dignified bearing with an air of freedom altogether different from low class Europeans. They are very independent in their manner.

Similar positive (but isolated) views of Aborigines were given to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, 1860.

A squatter, J.B. Hack told the Select Committee:

> They are always eager to obtain work; indeed black labour is the only sort of labour which I employ (Select Committee of the Legislative Council, 1860: Question 2440).

Aborigines were described to the Select Committee by different respondents as intelligent, faithful, quick to learn, splendid sheep shearers and cooks, constant in work.

The way of life which gave rise to these positive views was soon destroyed following upon white contact. The people were destroyed physically by disease, morally by their relegation to a powerless rejected group, culturally by the destruction of the Law.

The decline of the Aborigine and his culture is not contested here. What is stressed is the propagation of a stereotype that portrayed Aborigines as inferior as if this were an ontological fact.

Despite the favourable, even glowing reports of a procession of administrators, protectors, school teachers, inspectors, craftsmen and others at Point McLeay carefully documented by Jenkin, the latter notes that the perceptions of the positive attributes of the people by those Europeans first in contact with the Aborigines were discarded for the 'mendacities' which became stereotypes after the people had been degraded by white interaction, mendacities that Jenkin notes were still being perpetrated in schools a century later.

(ii) Contemporary Research

Cawte (1972) cites stereotypes of Aborigines held by white people as *spontaneous and carefree, irritable and quarrelsome, lacking in foresight and stamina.*

Lippmann (1973b:181) found derogatory stereotyping was common:

There is an inherent belief in the inferiority of the Aboriginal position (a belief constantly bolstered by reference to low material and social standards) which is sometimes transferred as belief in the inferiority of Aborigines themselves. All stereotypes mentioned pertaining to Aborigines were derogatory and Aborigines were both felt and seen, to be in a continuously subordinate position.

Lippmann (1973b:181) found little association between the amount of contact with Aborigines and prejudice expressed by respondents and found only a slight tendency for younger respondents to have more favourable attitudes than those in older age groups.

Western (1973:244-268) found unfavourable responses to seven items:

- *Aborigines expect more out life for nothing than whites*
- *they give neighbourhoods a typical Aboriginal atmosphere*
- *they will always adapt the white man's materials to their old ways*
- *Aborigines are pretty much alike*
- *restrictions should be placed on Aborigines to protect them from their own lack of responsibility*
- *races cannot merge because white culture is more advanced*
- *manual work is best for Aborigines*

Taft (1975) found that in a Western Australian study, qualities attribruted to Aborigines by three groups differing in contact were remarkably similar across groups. Qualities mentioned across at least two of the three groups were:

wasteful with money
lazy and unambitious
dirty and slovenly
drunken
unreliable

on the positive side they were seen as

generous
making good parents.

Evidence of drunkenness, brawling and assault given by Taft are based on arrests for these categories placed at more than ten times the rate for the Western Australian population as a whole[1].

IX.2 Process II Aborigines stereotype Aborigines

IX.21 Typification in Aboriginal writings

In general, Aborigines have only begun to commit to paper their own views in the last decade[2]. Written evidence of their opinion may be gained from such writings as Because a white man'll never do it; Living Black - Blacks talk to Kevin Gilbert, (Gilbert 1973, 1977); Black Viewpoints (ed. Tatz 1975); Mikurrunya, Strelley Community Newsletter (1979 -); A Bastard like me _Perkins, 1975); My People; Stradbroke Dreamtime, (Walker 1970, 1972); From the very depths: a black view of white racism (Watson, 1973).

Gilbert (1977:1) believes that urban Aborigines theorize about positive differences of culture which have no basis in reality:

> ...together with many sympathetic whites ...
> (Aborigines) embrace and propagate a number of
> myths about themselves: that Aborigines share
> freely, that they have a strong feeling of community;
> that they don't care about money and lack the
> materialism of white society; that they care
> more deeply for their children than do white parents.

Gilbert (1977:1) believes that these positive stereotypes of Aborigines are not reflected in real life:

---

[1]Taft's figures show arrests. They do not necessarily reflect the *incidence* of this behaviour. See also Gale, Fay (1975:227, 233) for statistics concerning this situation in South Australia, and Bailey, Rebecca, 1981 unpublished manuscript.

[2]Rowley (1971:79) documents early writings, among them a manifesto of the Aborigines Association 1938. Jenkins (op.cit:153) claims that James Ngunaitponi was certainly the assistant author for Taplin's book on the folklore, manners, customs and language of the South Australian Aborigine. David Ngunaitponi gave a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society in 1914 in Melbourne, (Jenkin, op.cit:252).

> Aborigines try to believe these fallacies about themselves because they won't face the truth. But you only have to go to any Aboriginal mission or reserve to see the truth: the lack of community spirit, the neglect and abuse of tiny children and the rest of it.

The characterization of Aborigines in general in Aboriginal writings is predominantly negative, as it is in non-Aboriginal writings.

Drawing on the literature, quoted above, the following characteristics are found, cited by Aboriginal writers who stereotype Aborigines in general.

Aborigines are a people:

without identity
undergoing a cultural and identity crisis
alienated from society
alienated from their culture
without confidence
without purpose or meaning in life
filled with pain and confusion
lacking all sense of joy and happiness
dejected
rejected
defeated
nobodies
at the bottom of the barrel
ashamed of their ancestry
ashamed to bring white mates home
destined to a life of embarrassment
their colour a handicap all their lives
trying to pass themselves off as white
becoming pseudo-whites
freaks when they go into white society
accepted by white society as football (sports) freaks
performing like monkeys to meet white expectations
accepting roles as 'stool-pigeons' in government
racist against whites, their energies consumed in hatred
struggling with each other for leadership roles
leaders without integrity
split into factions, black against black
unable to unite, due to petty jealousies
lacking group cohesion
lacking community spirit
lacking in moral standards
untrustworthy
lacking discipline, lacking rules, not knowing the value of money
go walkabout, itchy feet, no reason to settle

neglect and abuse their children
men gutless, won't go out and fight for themselves
solve problems by blanking out their minds with alcohol
prove manhood by getting drunk
lacking educational base, lacking fluency in English, dropouts
lacking self-respect, dignity, economic and political security
discriminated against by teachers and employers

IX.3 Process III Aborigines stereotype whites

From the same writings, Aboriginal views on 'whites' are culled. White values for white people are seen as

being sharks
using your own initiative
cultivating a competitive spirit
seeking advancement
seeking advancement above one's fellow men
self-centred

Whites are "seen as stereotypes - not as individuals but a white face". They are seen as:-

lacking sincerity
greedy
selfish
grabbing power
indifferent to Aborigines
having no regard to Aborigines as human beings
having no respect for Aboriginal culture
using Aboriginal people for their own social, economic, political reasons
using Aborigines as symbols, buying them off with Government jobs
using each other
turning all things into a commodity - dictated to by money, possessions
designing benefits to make black a participant in white community, not a member of white community
not living up to ideals of justice, humanity, decency, for Aborigines while presenting a good image overseas (Austcare, Freedom from Hunger, Unesco)
projecting their own failings onto Aborigines - sexual hangups, frustration with society, drinking problems
advancing a policy of assimilation as a means of genocide
oppressing Aborigines
discriminating against Aborigines
assisting Aborigines to be second rate people
do gooders

IX.4 Process IV Aboriginal perception of white stereotyping of Aborigines

Norms held by whites *for* blacks are seen as

taking a passive role
to be there when the boss calls
to earn only when the boss dictates
to live and construct their society only as the European decides
to be subject to the hand-out system
people who will never be able to manage their own affairs.

Aborigines perception of whites is that they see Aborigines as a stereotype, not as a man but

as Jacky
who is a drunk
who will not work
who goes walkabout
who will not help himself
who is a lazy bastard
who is considered below human level
who is ineducable
who is a problem, an embarrassment to white society
who is reified as a problem (money is given for research, but not for housing)
who is reified by being made the passive object of government policies, e.g. on assimilation, on tenure of land, on opening/closing/maintaining reserves
who is to be the object of 'charitable' but not natural relationships with whites
who is a trouble maker
who has a chip on his shoulder
who is dirty
who is good only for cheap labour, menial work
the scum, the unwanted of society
the most miserable people on earth.

IX.5 Process V Aboriginal stereotype of self

In assembling Aboriginal typifications of the self gathered through scanning the literature only, the views expressed will be those of a highly articulate group. Nevertheless, this group may be seen to be particularly important in their role as contemporary definers of reality, and as a group whose views are held to be those offering one particular identity to Aborigines.

The stereotype of the *Aboriginal self* in the literature is one of an Aborigine as a person who is

> *proud to be black*
> *proud to be of Aboriginal ancestry*
> *committed to fighting for personal survival*
> *committed to helping Aborigines help themselves*
> *committed to establishing a power base*
> *where Aborigines come together united*
> *where Aborigines can get up, and be, and do the things they want to*
> *where there is encouragement of self-determination*
> *where there is encouragement of black culture*
> *where there is a re-learning and re-instatement of black culture to promote the search for Aboriginal identity.*

In order to map the different 'selves' which Aborigines conceptualize, it is necessary to seek to establish those typifications the individual accepts for his 'world' and accepts for himself, from those offered by the 'world' with which he interacts.

It is from the writings referred to above and from personal interviews undertaken to give meaning to the problem posed by Aboriginal people, that lists of characteristics (Schedule I) were drawn up.

APPENDIX X

SCHEDULE II Statements

Write in comments if you want to explain your choice more clearly	Agree Strongly	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1. Vietnamese should leave all their way of life behind and become Australian					
2. The best way to get a job is through trying hard at school.					
3. It's no good trusting people - they only want something out of you					
4. Sometimes I feel like I don't exist, that I don't matter to anyone					
5. It is good to have a mixture of cultures in Australia					
6. It's no good staying on at school to get a job.					
7. It's no good asking help from teachers. They are not really interested.					
8. There are more important things in life than money or jobs.					
9. No matter how hard I try at school, I won't get a job.					
10. Migrants from Europe are all right, but it is better not to have coloured people in Australia.					
11. It is no good for Aborigines to look for jobs at the Commonwealth Employment Service. They won't get one.					
12. It's no good worrying about things. You can't change anything in the world.					
13. I don't have to worry about getting a job - my parents and relations and friends will help me.					
14. I often feel people are looking at me and wish I could hide so that they couldn't see me.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
15. The easiest place for me to get a job is with the Government.					
16. It's no good keeping in with relations. They are always fighting with each other. It's better to get out by yourself.					
17. One of the places I feel really important and worthwhile is at Church.					
18. People in our suburb are friendly and willing to help if you need them.					
19. I think Aborigines should merge into the general population.					
20. I don't worry about getting a job. I know I'll end up on the dole.					
21. The way you know you are a success is by the amount of money you earn.					
22. Whatever people think about me now, I can always change.					
23. I think people like me for myself and don't worry about my looks or my clothing or the sort of house we have.					
21. I would like to know what people really think of me.					
25. The way you can tell you are a success is if you get a job.					
26. It's no good asking people in authority to help. They don't care.					
27. I think people drink too much because it is a social thing.					
28. If things get hard at school, I give up. There's no point trying.					
29. I think everyone has to look after himself. There's no point expecting any help from others.					
30. I only come to school because I have to go. There's no real point.					

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
31. I think Aborigines should form stronger groups among themselves so that they can get somewhere.					
32. Sometimes I feel like doing something bad just to show I exist					
33. We have lots of family get togethers that are fun.					
34. Sometimes I wish I had different parents.					
35. The chief thing that shows you are a success is if you have lots of friends.					
36. If I had a chance, I would go to another school where they cared about you as a person.					
37. I think Australians worry that Vietnamese will get their jobs.					
38. I just can't see where my future is or what will happen to me.					
39. I don't really feel anyone thinks I'm important. No-one would really miss me.					
40. My English is not good enough for mixing with people comfortably.					
41. I have lots of relations that I can count on when I need help.					
42. If my English were better I'd have a better chance of a job.					
43. I think you are really a success if you can cope with whatever life brings.					
44. Seeing Aborigines were here long before migrants, they ought to get jobs before migrants.					
45. I know if I work hard now, I will get benefits later.					
46. I often feel ashamed of my family					
47. I would like it better if there were a few more rules and regulations so that I know what I am supposed to do to be a success.					

	Strongly	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
48. I wish our family owned our house. I'd feel more secure. (If you do own a house, miss this question out).					
49. I never know what to expect at home. Sometimes I'm blamed for things that happen. Sometimes no-one cares about the same things.					
50. I had a nickname but I'd rather not tell it - I'd be ashamed of it. (If you are not ashamed of it, write it in).					
51. I think Aborigines should try to be white.					
52. If you want to get on in the world you have to fight for yourself.					
53. I wish we had a better house. I feel embarrassed about having friends around.					
54. If you make an effort, people will help you.					
55. I think people are alcoholics because they have no purpose in life.					
56. Life would be better in Australia if everyone tried to learn about other cultures.					
57. I hope to get a job when I leave school, but there is a lot of unemployment and I might miss out.					
58. It's worth saving up money to buy something worthwhile that I really want, even if I have to go without now.					
59. I think Australian people show discrimination when they employ people. They would rather not employ Aborigines.					
60. I often feel very self-conscious about my looks.					

APPENDIX XI

SCHEDULE III Success

1. I would use these words and ideas to describe people I think are a success in life:

1. _____	5. _____
2. _____	6. _____
3. _____	7. _____
4. _____	8. _____

2. I would use these words and ideas to describe a person I think is a failure in life.

1. _____	5. _____
2. _____	6. _____
3. _____	7. _____
4. _____	8. _____

3. Everyone is different - so success means something different for each person. Success in life for <u>me</u> personally, could be described like this.

4. Tick the spot where you would place yourself in rating your chances of success as you have described it.

failure ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- ----- success

5. What are the most important reasons that make you think this will be your chance of success?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

6. What sort of job would you like to get when you leave school/college? (Describe it, and who your employer might be)

_____

_____

_____

7. How likely are you to get this job? Put a circle around one of the following:

No hope Some hope Likely Very likely Almost certain

8. If you are not likely to get the job you want, what sort of job are you likely to get?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX XII

SCHEDULE IV Location in groups

	Very often (almost every month) or more	Often 6-12 times a year	Occasionally 2 or 3 times a year
Do you belong to any religious group? Yes No			
If yes, which ones? and how often do you meet? 1. 2.			
Do you belong to any sporting group? Yes No			
If yes, which ones? and how often do you meet? 1. 2. 3.			
Do you belong to any ethnic group? (e.g. Italian/Polish/Aboriginal etc). Yes No			
If yes, which ones? and how often do you meet with them? 1. 2. 3.			
Other groups I belong to are: Give names of groups and say how often you meet with them. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.			

I don't exactly belong to a group with a name, but there are gangs of friends who do things together.

I belong to 1, 2, 3 gangs like that (circle the right number).

Things we do together are:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

	Disagree Strongly	disagree	not sure	Agree	Agree Strongly
I would like my relations to live near me (circle one)					

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

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APPENDIX XIV

A.L.P. POLICY STATEMENT 1973

The 1973 Platform statement of the A.L.P. on its policies for Aborigines read:

1. The Australian Government to assume responsibility for all Aborigines and Islanders by establishing the principle of elective consultative procedures.

2. The Australian Parliament to legislate against all forms of discrimination as part of a program to provide equal rights and opportunities for all persons.

3. Aborigines to receive the standard rate of pay for the job and to receive the same industrial protection as other Australians. The Australian Government, within its own area of responsibility to provide career opportunities to the maximum extent. Special provision for employment to be provided in regions where Aborigines reside.

4. Educational opportunities to be provided in no way inferior to those of the general community, with special programs at all levels where necessary to overcome cultural deprivation and meet special needs. Pre-school education to be provided for every Aboriginal child, including teaching in indigenous languages where desirable. Adult education to be provided as broadly as possible. A program of technical and managerial training to be developed and the co-operation of the trade union movement to be sought in recognising Aboriginal skills.*

5. All Aboriginal families to be properly housed within a period of ten years. In compensation for the loss of traditional lands, funds to be made available to assist Aborigines who wish to purchase their own homes, taking into account personal wishes as to design and location. Trained social workers under the jurisdiction of local communities to be provided in areas where such housing has been undertaken.

6. Aborigines to have the right to receive social services in the same way as other Australians.

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* In the 1975 A.L.P. Platform the following was added:

The Australian Government to provide funds to expand the general availability of courses of study at Teachers Colleges and/or Colleges of Advanced Education in race relations and Aboriginal society so as to enable the teaching thereof as a compulsory subject in all schools, and Aboriginal studies generally; and also to provide funds to expand specialist training for those who wish to be involved in the teaching of Aborigines.

7. All Aboriginal lands to be vested in a public trust or trusts composed of Aborigines or Islanders as appropriate. Exclusive corporate land rights to be granted to Aboriginal communities which retain a strong tribal structure or demonstrate a potential for corporate action in regard to land at present reserved for the use of Aborigines, or where traditional occupancy according to tribal custom can be established from anthropological or other evidence. No Aboriginal lands to be alienated or assigned for any use, including mineral development except with the approval both of the trust and the Parliament. Such trusts or groups shall be entitled to use capital funds investments to establish community or co-operative ventures for the benefit of local inhabitants. All Aborigines jointly to share the benefit from the development of natural resources, including minerals, on Aboriginal lands. The sacred sites of the Aborigines to be mapped and protected.

8. A Parliamentary Committee to continue to study all aspects of Aboriginal policy and to report regularly and constantly.

9. Every Australian child to be taught the history and culture of Aboriginal and Island Australians as an integral part of the history of Australia.

10. Labor will maintain a health offensive to eliminate leprosy, yaws, hookworm, tuberculosis and contagious diseases and to reduce infant mortality. Efficient mortality statistics to be maintained to measure the effectiveness of these policies among Aborigines.*

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*In the 1975 Platform this section reads:

> A health offensive should be maintained to lift health standards amongst all Aborigines to at least the level applying to the community in general. Special emphasis to be placed on improving nutritional standards, reducing infant mortality, and preventing exotic diseases. Health and mortality statistics to be maintained to measure the effectiveness of these policies amongst Aborigines.

APPENDIX XV

THE LIBERAL AND NATIONAL COUNTRY PARTIES' ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS POLICY, 1975

PREAMBLE

The Liberal and National Country Parties are committed to the principle that all Aborigines and Islanders should be as free as other Australians to determine their own varied futures. It is essential to appreciate the great diversity of people who may identify themselves as Aborigine by virtue of the Aboriginal descent they have.

For instance, the life style of Aborigines will, of necessity, vary between those living a more tribalised state in or near their traditional lands and those living in or near towns and cities. Policies must therefore reflect this fact.

Mindful of these matters:

- We recognise the fundamental right of Aborigines to retain their racial identity and traditional life style or where desired to adopt partially or wholly a European life style;

- We will within the limits of available finances fund programmes which develop Aboriginal self-sufficiency and which represent initiatives that Aborigines themselves believe will enhance their dignity, self-respect and self-reliance;

- We will promote cross-cultural understanding and co-operation by a continuing process of community education for all age groups to ensure a higher level of mutual tolerance, trust and enterprise than has so far marked our history.

A special obligation is also imposed upon us all to provide opportunities for Aborigines to preserve their traditions, languages and customs from further encroachment and destruction where possible.

Aboriginal values are an intrinsic part of Australia's culture and heritage. We are part of each other. Without mutual respect and support for each other's cultural integrity we cannot secure our personal identities and complement each other's enterprise as we should.

NEW INITIATIVES

Notwithstanding some diversity of viewpoints, Aborigines with one voice are asserting the right to:

- self-management
- land rights
- additional funds
- self-sufficiency

A Liberal and National Country Party Government will respond with new initiatives to each of these basic claims.

1. Aboriginal Self-Management

Increasing numbers of Aborigines are intent on preserving and expressing their "Aboriginality".

Aboriginality is a spirit of kinship and affinity which transcends family relationships and which can embrace tribal and non-tribal Aborigines alike.

This resurgent spirit of Aboriginality is now claiming recognition and affirmation through many independent Aboriginal bodies.

The Liberal and National Country Parties recognise that if a policy of self-management is to be effective, Aborigines must play a leading role in their affairs. This will include Aborigines playing a significant role:

(a) in setting the long term goals and objectives which the government should pursue and the programmes it should adopt in such areas as Aboriginal education, housing, health, employment and legal aid;

(b) in setting the priorities for expenditure on Aboriginal affairs within the context of overall budget allocations; and

(c) in evaluating existing programmes and formulating new ones.

Aborigines not only have a significant role in these matters. They must also assume responsibility for the success of the programmes adopted. Only in this way will inefficiency, waste and disillusionment which have characterised many of the previous programmes be removed.

As part of this policy of self-management we will encourage Aboriginal agencies and organisations at all levels. In government we will conduct an urgent enquiry in consultation with the Aboriginal people into the role of the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (N.A.C.C.) to determine the role which the N.A.C.C. should have in relation to government and how best that role could be fulfilled.

2. Aboriginal Land Rights

We recognise that fundamental to the Aborigines' sense of Aboriginality - of affinity with one another - is their affinity with the land.

The recognition of the rights of some tribal clans and reserve communities in the Northern Territory can be satisfied by granting title to their traditional areas of land. For others, alternative forms of land and housing 'rights' need to be negotiated and the means for doing this are considered in later sections of this policy statement. Clearly, a variety of solutions are required to meet these various land demands and associated needs.

The Liberal and National Country Parties recognise the right of Aborigines to the lands located within the reserves in the Northern Territory. We will also make lands available, either by grant or through the provision of funds, to tribal Aborigines living on or near their traditional areas which are not on reserves and to detribalised Aborigines in rural or urban areas. To achieve this purpose we will make regular allocations to the Aboriginal Land Fund.

In recognising land rights we will ensure:

(i) that the traditional Aboriginal owners gain inalienable title to their lands;

(ii) that they also determine how their lands are to be used and preserved;

(iii) that they have the same right as any other owner to determine who enters their land and whether the person is an Aborigine or non-Aborigine;

(iv) that sites significant according to Aboriginal tradition be preserved and protected;

(v) that expertise and funds are provided to assist in the development of their lands;

(vi) that appropriate health, housing and education services are provided to and employment opportunities encouraged for Aboriginal people living on or near their lands;

(vii) that mineral prospecting and mineral development should only be allowed under strict government control and in a manner which protects sacred sites and reflects the views and needs of the traditional Aboriginal owners;

(viii) that royalties from mining be used for the benefit of the Aboriginal people and that a fair proportion thereof be paid in trust on behalf of the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land on which mining is conducted.

3. Additional Funds

The Liberal and National Country Parties recognise the problems flowing from the past dispossession and dispersal of the Aboriginal people and the community's resulting responsibility. In government we will acknowledge this in two ways:

(i) we will channel all future major expenditure on Aboriginal education, employment, housing, health and legal aid and similar services through a new account to be called The Aborigines Entitlement Revenue Account. This account will replace the present Aboriginal Advancement Trust Account;

(ii) in addition to making allocations to the Aboriginal Loans Commission, we will establish and make annual allocations to an Aborigines' Entitlement Capital Account. The funds contained in this account will be invested for the benefit of the Aboriginal people. The manner in which this account is to be administered and the income from it distributed will be determined after consultation with the Aboriginal people.

The Aborigines Entitlement Revenue and Capital Accounts will express both in name and in the magnitude of their resources our commitment to the view that the Aboriginal people are entitled to receive additional funds by reason of their past dispossession and dispersal.

4. Aboriginal Self-Sufficiency

A Liberal and National Country Party Government will demolish unnecessary bureaucratic barriers between Aborigines and the programmes intended to assist them towards self-management.

We will continue to allocate substantial funds for expenditure by the Commonwealth and the States on Aboriginal education, health, housing and employment.

In encouraging Aboriginal initiative and enterprise, the following programmes will be high on our list of priorities:

(i) appointment of additional Aborigines to liaison, advisory and training positions in such fields as education, health and community development;

(ii) the maintenance and, where appropriate, the expansion of Aborigine-managed enterprises and services such as Aboriginal Medical Services, Aboriginal Legal Services and Aboriginal housing, building and pastoral projects;

(iii) the creation of a network of outback pre-schools to cater for the needs of Aboriginal and other Australian children side by side and to actively involve their parents as well;

(iv) the expansion of bi-cultural education in those Northern Australian schools with predominantly Aboriginal enrolments;

(v) the introduction of Aboriginal History and Culture as a full subject in the education programmes available to all Australians from primary school onwards;

(vi) a complete review of existing Aboriginal employment and training schemes in order to increase social and geographical mobility for those Aborigines who desire it;

(vii) the introduction of an experimental 'work-out' programme in rural secondary schools with high Aboriginal enrolments;

(viii) the establishment of a 'parent-educator' programme among Aboriginal parents in capital cities; and

(ix) consultation with the Aboriginal people on appropriate ways of dealing with social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse.

We will act promptly to consider and where adopted to fund other proposals and innovations which extend Aboriginal self-management and develop Aboriginal self-sufficiency.

Schedule I

Aborigines typify 'Australians' by Institution.
Non-Aborigines typify 'Australians' (shown in italics)

Key. 1 Pt. Augusta High N = 25 *N = 78*
2 Augusta Park High N = 10 *N = 56*
5 Taperoo High N = 17 *N = 91*
6 Salisbury North High N = 4 *n = 64*
8 S.A.I.T. N = 18
9 Stone's Business College N = 19

Note N = Possible number of Respondents (Total N = 93) *(N = 289)*
n = Actual number of respondents to each item

Institution			Item 1 trustworthy		mid-point		Item 12 untrustworthy	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 283*	24.7	*54.4*	57	*35.8*	18.3	*9.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	37.6	*58.6*	33.3	*36.0*	29.2	*5.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 54*	10.0	*51.9*	80.0	*38.9*	10.0	*9.3*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	12.6	*52.8*	75.0	*40.7*	12.6	*6.6*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	100.0	*50.7*	0.0	*31.2*	0.0	*17.4*
8.	n = 18		16.7		44.4		38.9	
9.	n = 19		15.8		84.2		0.0	

Missing observations = 2 *(6)*

Institution			Item 2 Don't care about jobs as long as money is good		mid-point		Item 23 care about status	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 285*	40.2	*40.2*	28.3	*22.8*	31.5	*36.9*
1.	n = 23	*n = 76*	43.4	*35.5*	21.7	*21.1*	34.7	*43.4*
2.	n = 10	*n = 54*	80.0	*44.5*	10.0	*22.2*	10.0	*33.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	43.8	*34.1*	37.5	*28.6*	18.8	*37.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*54.7*	0.0	*18.8*	50.0	*26.5*
8.	n = 18		16.7		33.3		50.0	
9.	n = 19		31.6		42.1		26.4	

Missing observations = 3 *(4)*

Schedule I Aborigines typify 'Australians. Cont.

Institution			Item 3 Strong sense of right and wrong		mid-point		Item 24 poor sense of right and wrong	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 283*	35.8	*61.2*	42.4	*25.0*	21.7	*13.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 74*	36.0	*56.8*	40.0	*32.4*	24.0	*10.9*
2.	n = 10	*n = 54*	30.0	*68.5*	50.0	*25.9*	20.0	*19.6*
5.	n = 15	*n = 91*	46.7	*61.6*	40.0	*22.0*	13.3	*16.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*57.8*	25.0	*21.9*	0.0	*20.4*
8.	n = 18		27.8		33.3		38.9	
9.	n = 18		27.8		55.6		16.7	

Missing observations = 3 *(6)*

Institution			Item 4 neglect children		mid-point		Item 25 good parent	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 285*	16.5	*14.4*	38.5	*20.5*	45.1	*65.1*
1.	n = 23	*n = 77*	21.7	*9.1*	30.4	*26.0*	47.8	*65.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 54*	30.0	*26.0*	30.0	*13.0*	40.0	*61.2*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	6.7	*7.7*	26.7	*17.8*	66.7	*74.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*21.9*	0.0	*26.6*	75.0	*51.6*
8.	n = 18		22.3		50.0		27.9	
9.	n = 9		5.3		52.6		42.1	

Missing observations = 4 *(4)*

Institution			Item 5 no purpose in life		mid-point		Item 26 know where they are going	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 282*	12.9	*14.9*	37.6	*27.5*	49.5	*57.6*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	8.3	*6.5*	29.2	*38.2*	62.5	*55.2*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	30.0	*17.0*	20.0	*30.2*	50.0	*52.8*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	25.1	*15.6*	37.5	*17.8*	37.5	*66.7*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	25.0	*23.7*	0.0	*30.2*	75.0	*46.1*
8.	n = 18		0.0		55.6		44.5	
9.	n = 19		10.5		47.4		42.1	

Missing observations = 2 *(7)*

Schedule I Aborigines typify Australians. Cont.

Institution			Item 6 good providers		mid-point		Item 27 don't keep jobs	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 281*	50.0	*55.0*	33.3	*27.2*	16.7	*17.7*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	62.5	*55.3*	25.0	*32.9*	12.5	*11.9*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	50.0	*52.9*	30.0	*24.5*	20.0	*22.7*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	46.7	*53.4*	20.0	*33.3*	33.3	*13.3*
6.	n = 4	*n = 62*	75.0	*53.3*	0.0	*16.1*	25.0	*30.6*
8.	n = 17		23.6		58.8		17.7	
9.	n = 18		55.6		38.9		5.6	

Missing observations = 5 *(8)*

Institution			Item 7 mother makes rules		mid-point		Item 28 father makes rules	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 280*	28.3	*15.3*	39.4	*41.0*	37.3	*43.7*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	8.0	*14.6*	36.0	*45.3*	56.0	*40.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	0.0	*13.2*	80.0	*49.1*	20.0	*37.7*
5.	n = 16	*n = 88*	31.4	*14.8*	12.5	*38.6*	56.3	*46.6*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*20.3*	25.0	*29.7*	25.0	*48.0*
8.	n = 18		38.9		33.3		27.8	
9.	n = 19		31.6		47.4		21.1	

Missing observations = 1 *(9)*

Institution			Item 8 Don't take care of possessions		mid-point		Item 29 Care for possessions	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 285*	4.2	*14.1*	25.5	*18.1*	70.2	*67.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	0.0	*3.9*	24.0	*19.7*	76.0	*76.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 54*	10.0	*14.8*	40.0	*27.8*	50.0	*57.5*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	6.3	*14.3*	18.8	*15.4*	75.1	*70.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*25.1*	25.0	*15.6*	75.0	*59.4*
8.	n = 18		0.0		27.8		68.4	
9.	n = 19		10.6		21.1		72.4	

Missing observations = 1 *(4)*

Institution			Item 9 friendly		mid-point		Item 30 unfriendly	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 283*	56.0	*77.1*	31.0	*16.2*	13.0	*6.7*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	76.0	*68.5*	16.0	*26.3*	8.0	*5.2*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	50.0	*75.4*	50.0	*20.8*	0.0	*3.8*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	46.7	*83.3*	40.0	*12.2*	13.4	*4.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	100.0	*75.1*	0.0	*9.4*	0.0	*15.6*
8.	n = 18		33.4		38.9		27.8	
9.	n = 19		52.6		36.8		10.5	

Missing observations = 2 *(6)*

Institution			Item 10 fight		mid-point		Item 31 live and let live	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 280*	32.3	*27.6*	35.5	*31.4*	32.3	*41.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	41.6	*21.4*	29.2	*40.0*	29.2	*38.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 52*	20.0	*30.8*	50.0	*38.5*	30.0	*30.8*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	31.3	*20.3*	25.0	*29.2*	43.8	*50.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*45.4*	0.0	*20.3*	50.0	*34.4*
8.	n = 18		38.9		44.4		16.7	
9.	n = 19		15.8		42.1		42.1	

Missing observations = 2 *(9)*

Institution			Item 11 know when to stop drinking		mid-point		Item 32 drink too much	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 284*	9.8	*12.9*	30.4	*23.9*	59.8	*63.4*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	20.0	*17.1*	20.0	*23.7*	60.0	*59.2*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	0.0	*13.3*	44.4	*34.0*	55.5	*52.8*
5.	n = 15	*n = 91*	6.7	*9.9*	20.0	*25.3*	73.4	*64.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*12.5*	0.0	*15.6*	50.0	*71.9*
8.	n = 18		5.6		33.3		61.1	
9.	n = 19		0.0		47.4		52.7	

Missing observations = 3 *(5)*

Schedule I Aborigines typify Australians. Cont.

Institution			Item 12 often in trouble with police		mid-point		Item 33 law-abiding lives	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 284*	26.5	*26.3*	40.4	*39.1*	32.9	*34.6*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	28.0	*19.7*	32.0	*42.1*	40.0	*38.2*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	40.0	*20.7*	40.0	*45.3*	20.0	*33.9*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	43.8	*22.0*	18.8	*40.7*	37.6	*37.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*45.4*	25.0	*34.4*	50.0	*20.4*
8.	n = 18		16.7		50.0		33.4	
9.	n = 19		10.5		63.2		26.4	

Missing observations = 1 *(5)*

Institution			Item 13 often in debt		mid-point		Item 34 careful with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 284*	30.8	*23.6*	39.6	*38.4*	29.7	*38.0*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	24.0	*15.6*	32.0	*39.0*	44.0	*45.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*26.5*	44.4	*41.5*	33.3	*32.1*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	40.0	*21.2*	26.7	*40.0*	33.3	*38.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*34.4*	50.0	*32.8*	50.0	*32.8*
8.	n = 18		50.1		27.8		22.3	
9.	n = 18		22.3		66.7		11.1	

Missing observations = 4 *(7)*

Institution			Item 14 aware of others		mid-point		Item 35 self and family first	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 282*	8.8	*17.3*	22.0	*22.0*	69.3	*60.7*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	8.0	*13.1*	20.0	*22.4*	72.0	*64.4*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	0.0	*17.0*	30.0	*28.3*	70.0	*54.7*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	6.7	*21.2*	33.3	*17.8*	60.0	*61.1*
6.	n = 3	*n = 63*	33.3	*15.9*	0.0	*23.8*	66.6	*60.3*
8.	n = 17		11.8		17.6		70.6	
9.	n = 19		10.6		21.1		68.4	

Missing observations = 4 *(7)*

Institution			Item 15 Speak English well		mid-point		Item 36 don't speak proper English	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 283*	32.9	*39.2*	34.0	*15.5*	32.9	*45.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	52.0	*38.1*	28.0	*18.4*	20.0	*43.5*
2.	n = 10	*n = 52*	20.0	*26.9*	40.0	*15.4*	40.0	*57.7*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	37.6	*40.7*	31.3	*13.2*	31.4	*46.2*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*46.9*	25.0	*18.6*	50.0	*34.4*
8.	n = 18		33.3		33.3		33.4	
9.	n = 19		15.8		42.1		42.1	

Missing observations = 1 *(6)*

Institution			Item 16 Have no ambition		mid-point		Item 37 motivated to get somewhere	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 278*	12.0	*14.4*	32.6	*26.1*	55.4	*59.5*
1.	n = 24	*n = 74*	4.2	*5.5*	20.8	*31.1*	75.0	*63.5*
2.	n = 10	*n = 50*	10.0	*18.0*	40.0	*34.0*	50.0	*48.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	18.8	*12.4*	50.0	*18.9*	31.3	*68.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*23.4*	25.0	*26.6*	50.0	*50.1*
8.	n = 18		11.2		38.9		50.1	
9.	n = 18		11.2		27.8		61.1	

Missing observations = 3 *(11)*

Institution			Item 17 waste money		mid-point		Item 38 generous with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 281*	37.0	*36.7*	42.4	*32.7*	20.7	*30.6*
1.	n = 24	*n = 73*	8.3	*26.1*	50.0	*41.1*	41.7	*32.9*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	20.0	*28.4*	60.0	*41.5*	20.0	*30.2*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	43.8	*41.8*	31.2	*27.5*	25.0	*30.8*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*48.5*	25.0	*26.6*	50.0	*25.0*
8.	n = 18		61.2		33.3		5.6	
9.	n = 18		50.1		50.0		0.0	

Missing observations = 3 *(8)*

Schedule I Aborigines typify Australians. Cont.

Institution			Item 18 clean and tidy		mid-point		Item 39 dirty, uncared for	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 284*	44.2	*55.3*	52.7	*30.0*	3.3	*14.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 77*	62.5	*58.5*	37.5	*31.2*	0.0	*10.4*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	40.0	*54.7*	30.0	*35.8*	30.0	*9.5*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	37.5	*54.4*	62.5	*26.7*	0.0	*18.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*48.5*	50.0	*31.3*	0.0	*20.3*
8.	n = 18		27.9		72.2		0.0	
9.	n = 19		47.4		52.6		0.0	

Missing observations = 2 *(5)*

Institution			Item 19 can't be counted on to do what they say		mid-point		Item 40 reliable	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 281*	31.1	*19.1*	44.4	*26.9*	24.4	*54.1*
1.	n = 22	*n = 75*	22.7	*14.7*	50.0	*32.0*	27.2	*53.4*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	10.0	*26.5*	50.0	*28.3*	40.0	*45.3*
5.	n = 15	*n = 89*	33.4	*15.5*	33.3	*24.7*	33.4	*60.7*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*25.0*	50.0	*26.6*	0.0	*48.5*
8.	n = 18		61.1		27.8		11.1	
9.	n = 19		15.9		57.9		26.3	

Missing observations = 5 *(8)*

Institution			Item 20 even-tempered		mid-point		Item 41 quick tempered	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 283*	19.2	*30.4*	44.7	*35.5*	36.1	*34.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	28.0	*27.7*	40.0	*44.7*	32.0	*27.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 53*	20.0	*35.8*	30.0	*32.1*	50.0	*32.1*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	12.6	*31.1*	62.5	*38.9*	25.1	*30.0*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*26.6*	0.0	*23.4*	100.0	*50.0*
8.	n = 18		11.2		61.1		27.9	
9.	n = 19		26.3		36.8		36.8	

Missing observation = 1 *(6)*

Schedule I Aborigines typify Australians. Cont.

Institution			Item 21 other things more important than money		mid-point		Item 42 money and possessions important	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 283*	17.6	*38.2*	24.2	*25.0*	58.3	*36.7*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	25.1	*32.9*	20.8	*31.6*	54.2	*35.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 52*	33.3	*34.5*	44.4	*25.0*	22.2	*40.4*
5.	n = 15	*n = 91*	13.3	*41.8*	13.3	*24.2*	73.3	*34.1*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*45.3*	0.0	*20.3*	75.0	*34.4*
8.	n = 18		11.2		22.2		66.6	
9.	n = 19		10.6		36.8		52.7	

Missing observations = 4 *(6)*

APPENDIX XVII

Schedule I by Institution

Aborigines typify Aborigines
Non-Aborigines typify Aborigines

Key.

Institution 1 = Pt. Augusta High
2 = Augusta Park High
5 = Taperoo High
6 = Salisbury North High
8 = S.A.I.T.
9 = Stone's Business College

Note N = Possible number of respondents (Total N = 93) *(N = 289)*
n = Actual number of respondents

			Item 1 trustworthy		mid-point		Item 22 untrustworthy	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 277*	37.7	*17.0*	45.2	*29.0*	17.2	*54.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 73*	21.7	*12.3*	47.8	*26.0*	30.3	*61.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 50*	40.0	*14.0*	50.0	*30.0*	10.0	*56.0*
5.	n = 17	*n = 90*	23.6	*14.5*	58.8	*32.2*	17.7	*53.3*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*26.6*	0.0	*31.3*	25.0	*42.2*
8.	n = 18		61.1		22.2		16.7	
9.	n = 19		31.7		63.2		5.3	

Missing observations = 3 *(12)*

			Item 2 don't care about jobs as long as money is good		mid-point		Item 23 care about status	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 279*	55.3	*74.4*	28.7	*15.1*	15.9	*10.6*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	58.4	*76.0*	16.7	*17.3*	25.0	*6.6*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	40.0	*73.5*	30.0	*12.2*	30.0	*14.3*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	76.5	*74.8*	17.6	*17.6*	5.9	*17.7*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*75.0*	0.0	*7.8*	75.0	*17.2*
8.	n = 18		72.3		22.2		5.6	
9.	n = 19		36.9		57.9		5.3	

Missing observations = 1 *(10)*

Institution			Item 3 strong sense of right and wrong		mid-point		Item 24 poor sense of right and wrong	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 280*	40.8	*20.5*	22.6	*19.8*	36.5	*59.7*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	33.4	*15.7*	12.5	*25.1*	54.2	*59.2*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	40.0	*20.4*	20.0	*24.5*	40.0	*55.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	25.1	*20.9*	31.3	*18.7*	43.8	*60.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*26.5*	0.0	*14.1*	25.0	*59.5*
8.	n = 18		44.5		27.8		27.8	
9.	n = 19		52.7		26.3		21.0	

Missing observations = 2 *(9)*

Institution			Item 4 neglect children		mid-point		Item 25 good parents	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 278*	23.1	*56.0*	47.3	*23.4*	29.7	*20.6*
1.	n = 23	*n = 74*	47.8	*60.8*	30.4	*23.0*	21.7	*16.2*
2.	n = 9	*n = 49*	44.4	*59.1*	44.4	*20.4*	11.1	*20.4*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	11.8	*55.0*	58.8	*27.5*	29.4	*17.6*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	0.0	*48.4*	33.3	*23.4*	66.7	*28.2*
8.	n = 18		16.7		50.0		33.4	
9.	n = 19		5.3		63.2		31.7	

Missing observations = 4 *(11)*

Institution			Item 5 no purpose in life		mid-point		Item 26 know where they are going	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 277*	36.1	*60.3*	40.4	*24.1*	23.4	*15.5*
1.	n = 24	*n = 74*	41.6	*55.5*	33.3	*28.4*	25.1	*16.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	20.0	*59.2*	40.0	*24.5*	40.0	*16.3*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	52.9	*66.0*	35.3	*23.1*	11.8	*11.0*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	50.0	*60.2*	25.0	*15.9*	25.0	*23.8*
8.	n = 18		33.4		38.9		27.8	
9.	n = 19		26.3		52.6		21.1	

Missing observations = 1 *(12)*

Institution			Item 6 good providers		mid-point		Item 27 don't keep jobs	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 275*	22.7	*11.5*	32.3	*20.1*	45.2	*68.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 72*	16.7	*2.8*	25.0	*22.2*	58.4	*75.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	40.0	*6.1*	40.0	*24.5*	20.0	*69.4*
5.	n = 17	*n = 90*	29.4	*12.1*	23.5	*15.6*	47.0	*72.1*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	66.7	*25.0*	0.0	*21.9*	33.3	*53.1*
8.	n = 18		5.6		38.9		55.6	
9.	n = 19		26.3		36.8		36.9	

Missing observations = 2 *(14)*

Institution			Item 7 mother makes rules		mid-point		Item 28 father makes rules	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 271*	22.8	*10.6*	46.7	*51.4*	30.4	*38.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 72*	26.0	*4.2*	34.8	*59.7*	39.1	*36.1*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	-	*8.1*	50.0	*59.2*	50.0	*32.7*
5.	n = 17	*n = 87*	35.3	*11.4*	35.3	*43.7*	29.4	*44.8*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	33.3	*17.3*	66.7	*42.2*	0.0	*40.6*
8.	n = 18		22.3		44.4		33.3	
9.	n = 19		21.0		63.2		15.8	

Missing observations = 3 *(18)*

Institution			Item 8 don't care for possessions		mid-point		Item 29 care for possessions	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 279*	45.2	*68.5*	28.0	*15.4*	26.8	*16.1*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	37.5	*80.2*	33.3	*7.9*	29.2	*11.8*
2.	n = 9	*n = 49*	22.2	*71.4*	44.4	*16.3*	33.3	*12.2*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	52.9	*67.1*	17.6	*19.8*	29.5	*13.2*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	25.0	*49.2*	25.0	*20.6*	50.0	*30.1*
8.	n = 18		55.6		16.7		27.8	
9.	n = 19		52.7		31.6		15.8	

Missing observations = 2 *(10)*

Institutions			Item 9 friendly		mid-point		Item 30 unfriendly	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 278*	53.2	*26.5*	31.5	*28.9*	15.1	*44.6*
1.	n = 22	*n = 75*	22.7	*10.7*	59.1	*29.3*	18.1	*60.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	50.0	*30.6*	30.0	*28.6*	20.0	*40.9*
5.	n = 17	*n = 90*	35.3	*24.5*	41.2	*31.1*	23.6	*44.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*40.7*	0.0	*25.0*	25.0	*34.3*
8.	n = 18		77.7		11.1		11.2	
9	n = 19		73.7		21.1		5.3	

Missing observations = 3 *(11)*

Institutions			Item 10 aggressive fight		mid-point		Item 31 live and let live	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 278*	45.1	*77.3*	36.3	*12.4*	18.7	*10.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	70.8	*86.7*	20.8	*8.0*	8.4	*5.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	40.0	*83.6*	30.0	*12.2*	30.0	*4.1*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	62.5	*73.3*	12.5	*15.6*	25.1	*11.1*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	33.3	*67.2*	33.3	*15.6*	33.3	*17.2*
8.	n = 17		23.6		41.2		35.3	
9.	n = 19		26.4		73.7		0.0	

Missing observations = 4 *(11)*

Institutions			Item 11 know when to stop drinking		Mid-point		Item 32 drink too much	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 280*	7.5	*9.2*	13.8	*8.5*	78.7	*82.2*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	4.2	*6.6*	12.5	*5.3*	83.3	*88.2*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	10.0	*10.1*	30.0	*12.2*	60.0	*77.5*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	5.9	*12.1*	17.6	*11.0*	76.5	*76.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*7.8*	0.0	*6.3*	75.0	*85.9*
8.	n = 18		16.8		5.6		77.8	
9.	n = 19		0.0		10.5		89.5	

Missing observations = 1 *(9)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 12 often in trouble with police		mid-point		Item 33 lead law-abiding lives	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 278*	72.1	*84.1*	20.4	*10.3*	7.6	*5.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	83.3	*92.0*	12.5	*6.7*	4.2	*1.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 48*	50.0	*81.3*	30.0	*14.6*	20.0	*4.2*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	88.2	*82.4*	11.8	*14.3*	0.0	*3.3*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	66.6	*79.7*	0.0	*6.3*	33.3	*14.1*
8.	n = 18		77.9		16.7		5.6	
9.	n = 19		57.9		36.8		5.3	

Missing observations = 1 *(11)*

Institutions			Item 13 often in debt		mid-point		Item 34 careful with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 278*	64.5	*72.5*	23.7	*19.6*	11.9	*7.8*
1.	n = 23	*n = 74*	56.5	*74.3*	30.4	*23.0*	12.9	*2.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	40.0	*73.5*	30.0	*18.4*	30.0	*8.1*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	58.8	*72.6*	23.5	*19.8*	17.7	*7.7*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*70.3*	0.0	*15.6*	25.0	*14.1*
8.	n = 18		94.4		5.6		0.0	
9.	n = 19		58.0		36.8		5.3	

Missing observations = 2 *(11)*

Institutions			Item 14 aware of needs of others		mid-point		Item 35 self and family first	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 278*	30.4	*20.3*	33.7	*30.2*	35.9	*49.5*
1.	n = 23	*n = 74*	30.3	*27.1*	26.1	*24.3*	43.4	*48.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	20.0	*20.4*	30.0	*18.4*	50.0	*61.2*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	17.6	*18.7*	41.2	*37.4*	41.2	*44.0*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	33.3	*17.1*	0.0	*34.4*	66.7	*48.5*
8.	n = 18		55.6		38.9		5.6	
9.	n = 19		21.1		42.1		36.9	

Missing observations = 3 *(11)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 15 speak English well		mid-point		Item 36 don't speak proper English	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	28.6	*22.1*	31.9	*18.4*	39.6	*59.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	20.8	*7.8*	25.0	*17.1*	54.2	*75.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	20.0	*14.2*	20.0	*10.2*	60.0	*75.6*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	50.0	*32.0*	31.3	*25.3*	18.8	*41.8*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	33.3	*34.5*	0.0	*20.3*	66.6	*45.3*
8.	n = 17		29.5		29.4		41.2	
9.	n = 19		26.3		52.6		21.1	

Missing observations = 4 *(9)*

Institutions			Item 16 have no ambition		mid-point		Item 37 motivated to get somewhere	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 279*	36.6	*64.7*	35.6	*23.6*	27.8	*11.5*
1.	n = 22	*n = 75*	50.0	*62.6*	18.2	*26.7*	31.8	*10.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	-	*71.4*	50.0	*24.5*	50.0	*4.1*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	37.6	*66.0*	31.3	*19.8*	31.3	*14.3*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	66.6	*62.6*	33.3	*21.9*	0.0	*15.7*
8.	n = 18		33.4		44.4		22.3	
9.	n = 19		42.2		36.8		21.1	

Missing observations = 5 *(10)*

Institutions			Item 17 waste money		mid-point		Item 38 generous with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 275*	49.5	*74.1*	25.3	*15.2*	25.3	*10.7*
1.	n = 23	*n = 72*	73.8	*78.4*	21.7	*13.5*	4.3	*8.1*
2.	n = 9	*n = 49*	33.3	*77.5*	55.6	*12.2*	11.1	*10.2*
5.	n = 17	*n = 90*	58.8	*72.2*	23.5	*17.8*	17.7	*9.9*
6	n = 3	*n = 64*	33.3	*67.3*	0.0	*17.2*	66.6	*15.6*
8.	n = 18		27.7		11.1		61.1	
9.	n = 19		42.1		31.6		26.3	

Missing observations = 4 *(14)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 18 clean and tidy		mid-point		Item 39 dirty uncared for	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 275*	25.5	*10.4*	57.6	*20.1*	16.7	*69.4*
1.	n = 21	*n = 72*	19.0	*2.8*	57.1	*20.8*	23.9	*76.3*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	10.0	*16.3*	50.0	*16.3*	40.0	*67.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	31.3	*10.0*	62.6	*22.2*	6.3	*67.8*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*15.7*	25.0	*20.3*	0.0	*64.0*
8.	n = 18		27.8		55.6		16.7	
9.	n = 19		26.3		63.2		10.6	

Missing observations = 5 *(14)*

Institutions			Item 19 can't be counted on to do what they say		mid-point		Item 40 reliable	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 279*	34.8	*60.6*	34.8	*25.7*	30.5	*13.7*
1.	n = 23	*n = 76*	47.8	*68.4*	34.8	*22.4*	17.3	*9.1*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	30.0	*65.3*	50.0	*20.4*	20.0	*14.3*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	50.0	*61.1*	31.3	*27.8*	18.8	*11.1*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	75.0	*46.9*	0.0	*31.3*	25.0	*21.9*
8.	n = 18		5.6		38.9		55.6	
9.	n = 19		31.6		36.8		31.6	

Missing observations = 3 *(10)*

Institutions			Item 20 even tempered		mid-point		Item 41 quick tempered	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 278*	17.2	*14.1*	38.7	*19.9*	44.1	*65.9*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	12.6	*6.6*	33.3	*18.7*	54.2	*74.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 49*	20.0	*12.3*	10.0	*20.4*	70.0	*67.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	12.5	*12.2*	37.5	*21.1*	50.0	*66.6*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*25.0*	25.0	*18.8*	75.0	*56.3*
8.	n = 18		44.5		44.4		11.1	
9.	n = 19		5.3		57.9		36.9	

Missing observations = 2 *(11)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 21 other things more important than money		mid-point		Item 42	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 278*	37.0	*33.3*	29.3	*27.1*	33.7	*39.5*
1.	n = 23	*n = 75*	17.3	*22.7*	34.8	*34.7*	47.8	*42.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 49*	22.2	*28.5*	55.6	*32.7*	22.2	*38.7*
5.	n = 17	*n = 91*	23.5	*35.2*	35.3	*23.1*	41.1	*41.8*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*39.0*	0.0	*21.9*	100.0	*39.1*
8.	n = 18		72.3		11.1		16.8	
9.	n = 19		52.6		26.3		21.1	

Missing observations = 3 *(11)*

APPENDIX XVIII

Schedule I by Institution

Aborigines typify Aborigines
Aborigines typify self and family

Key.

Institution 1 = Pt. Augusta High
2 = Augusta Park High
5 = Taperoo High
6 = Salisbury North High
8 = S.A.I.T.
9 = Stone's Business College

Note N = Possible number of respondents (Total N = 93) *(n = 51)*
n = Actual number of respondents

			Item 1 trustworthy		mid-point		Item 22 untrustworthy	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 49*	37.7	*72.5*	45.2	*13.7*	17.2	*13.7*
1.	n = 23	*n = 22*	21.7	*63.6*	47.8	*13.6*	30.3	*22.6*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*77.8*	50.0	*22.2*	10.0	*0.0*
5.	n = 17		23.6		58.8		17.7	
6.	n = 4		75.0		0.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	61.1	*77.8*	22.2	*11.1*	16.7	*11.2*
9.	n = 19		31.7		63.2		5.3	

Missing observations = 3 *(-)*

			Item 2 don't care about jobs as long as money is good		mid-point		Item 23 care about status	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 47*	55.3	*30.5*	28.7	*26.5*	15.9	*42.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 20*	58.4	*20.0*	16.7	*30.0*	25.0	*50.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*11.1*	30.0	*44.4*	30.0	*44.4*
5.	n = 17		76.5		17.6		5.9	
6.	n = 4		25.0		0.0		75.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	72.3	*50.0*	22.2	*16.7*	5.6	*33.4*
9.	n = 19		36.9		57.9		5.3	

Missing observations = 1 *(2)*

Schedule I

Institution			Item 3 strong sense of right and wrong		mid-point		Item 24 poor sense of right and wrong	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	40.8	*68.0*	22.6	*26.0*	36.5	*6.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	33.4	*52.4*	12.5	*38.1*	54.2	*9.6*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*66.6*	20.0	*33.3*	40.0	*0.0*
5.	n = 16		25.1		31.3		43.8	
6.	n = 4		75.0		0.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	44.5	*83.4*	27.8	*11.1*	27.8	*5.6*
9.	n = 19		52.7		26.3		21.0	

Missing observations = 2 *(1)*

Institution			Item 4 neglect children		mid-point		Item 25 good parents	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 48*	23.1	*16.0*	47.3	*6.0*	29.7	*78.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	47.8	*23.8*	30.4	*4.8*	21.7	*71.4*
2.	n = 9	*n = 9*	44.4	*22.2*	44.4	*11.1*	11.1	*66.7*
5.	n = 17		11.8		58.8		29.4	
6.	n = 3		0.0		33.3		66.7	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	16.7	*5.6*	50.0	*5.6*	33.4	*88.9*
9.	n = 19		5.3		63.2		31.7	

Missing observations = 4 *(1)*

Institution			Item 5 no purpose in life		mid-point		Item 26 know where they are going	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 47*	36.1	*10.1*	40.4	*12.2*	23.4	*77.5*
1.	n = 24	*n = 20*	41.6	*18.0*	33.3	*5.0*	25.1	*80.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	20.0	*0.0*	40.0	*11.1*	40.0	*88.9*
5.	n = 17		52.9		35.3		11.8	
6.	n = 4		50.0		25.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	33.4	*11.2*	38.9	*16.7*	27.8	*72.3*
9.	n = 19		26.3		52.6		21.1	

Missing observations = 1 *(2)*

Schedule I

Institution			Item 6 good providers		mid-point		Item 27 don't keep jobs	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	22.7	*80.0*	32.3	*6.0*	45.2	*14.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	16.7	*71.5*	25.0	*9.5*	58.4	*19.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*77.7*	40.0	*11.1*	20.0	*11.1*
5.	n = 17		29.4		23.5		47.0	
6.	n = 3		66.7		0.0		33.3	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	5.6	*88.9*	38.9	*0.0*	55.6	*11.2*
9.	n = 19		26.3		36.8		36.9	

Missing observations = 2 *(1)*

Institution			Item 7 mother makes rules		mid-point		Item 28 father makes rules	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 48*	22.8	*28.0*	46.7	*46.0*	30.4	*26.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	26.0	*28.6*	34.8	*47.6*	39.1	*23.8*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	-	*22.2*	50.0	*66.7*	50.0	*11.1*
5.	n = 17		35.3		35.3		29.4	
6.	n = 3		33.3		66.7		0.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	22.3	*27.8*	44.4	*33.3*	33.3	*39.0*
9.	n = 19		21.0		63.2		15.8	

Missing observations = 3 *(1)*

Institution			Item 8 don't care for possessions		mid-point		Item 29 care for possessions	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	45.2	*14.3*	28.0	*12.2*	26.8	*73.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	37.5	*14.3*	33.3	*4.8*	29.2	*81.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 9*	22.2	*11.1*	44.4	*22.2*	33.3	*66.7*
5.	n = 17		52.9		17.6		29.5	
6.	n = 4		25.0		25.0		50.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	55.6	*16.7*	16.7	*16.7*	27.8	*66.7*
9.	n = 19		52.7		31.6		15.8	

Missing observations = 2 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 9 friendly		mid-point		Item 30 unfriendly	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 48*	53.2	*80.0*	31.5	*10.0*	15.1	*10.0*
1.	n = 22	*n = 21*	22.7	*80.9*	59.1	*9.5*	18.1	*9.5*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	50.0	*77.8*	30.0	*11.1*	20.0	*11.1*
5.	n = 17		35.3		41.2		23.6	
6.	n = 4		75.0		0.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	77.7	*77.7*	11.1	*11.1*	11.2	*11.2*
9	n = 19		73.7		21.1		5.3	

Missing observations = 3 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 10 aggressive fight		mid-point		Item 31 live and let live	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 48*	45.1	*10.0*	36.3	*18.0*	18.7	*72.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	70.8	*9.6*	20.8	*28.6*	8.4	*61.9*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*11.1*	30.0	*11.1*	30.0	*77.7*
5.	n = 16		62.5		12.5		25.1	
6.	n = 3		33.3		33.3		33.3	
8.	n = 17	*n = 18*	23.6	*11.1*	41.2	*5.6*	35.3	*83.4*
9.	n = 19		26.4		73.7		-	

Missing observations = 4 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 11 know when to stop drinking		Mid-point		Item 32 drink too much	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 46*	7.5	*60.4*	13.8	*16.7*	78.7	*23.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 20*	4.2	*50.0*	12.5	*25.0*	83.3	*25.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 8*	10.0	*50.0*	30.0	*25.0*	60.0	*25.0*
5.	n = 17		5.9		17.6		76.5	
6.	n = 4		25.0		0.0		75.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	16.8	*77.8*	5.6	*0.0*	77.8	*22.3*
9.	n = 19		-		10.5		89.5	

Missing observations = 1 *(3)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 12 often in trouble with police		mid-point		Item 33 lead law-abiding lives	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	72.1	*16.0*	20.4	*10.0*	7.6	*74.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	83.3	*19.1*	12.5	*9.5*	4.2	*71.4*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	50.0	*11.1*	30.0	*11.1*	20.0	*77.7*
5.	n = 17		88.2		11.8		-	
6.	n = 3		66.7		0.0		33.3	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	77.9	*16.7*	16.7	*11.1*	5.6	*72.2*
9.	n = 19		57.9		36.8		5.3	

Missing observations = 1 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 13 often in debt		mid-point		Item 34 careful with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	64.5	*16.0*	23.7	*18.0*	11.9	*66.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	56.5	*14.3*	30.4	*19.0*	12.9	*66.7*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	40.0	*0.0*	30.0	*22.2*	30.0	*77.7*
5.	n = 17		58.8		23.5		17.7	
6.	n = 4		75.0		0.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	94.4	*27.8*	5.6	*16.7*	-	*55.6*
9.	n = 19		58.0		36.8		5.3	

Missing observations = 2 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 14 aware of needs of others	mid-point	Item 35 self and family first	
			%	%	%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 48*	30.4	*30.0* 33.7 *12.0*	35.9	*58.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	30.3	*19.1* 26.1 *9.5*	43.4	*71.5*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	20.0	*22.2* 30.0 *11.1*	50.0	*66.6*
5.	n = 17		17.6	41.2	41.2	
6.	n = 3		33.3	0.0	66.7	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	55.6	*50.1* 38.9 *11.1*	5.6	*39.0*
9.	n = 19		21.1	42.1	36.9	

Missing observations = 3 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 15 speak English well		mid-point		Item 36 don't speak proper English	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 48*	28.6	*62.0*	31.9	*14.0*	39.6	*24.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	20.8	*61.9*	25.0	*9.5*	54.2	*28.6*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	20.0	*55.5*	20.0	*22.2*	60.0	*22.2*
5.	n = 16		50.0		31.3		18.8	
6.	n = 3		33.3		0.0		66.7	
8.	n = 17	*n = 18*	29.5	*66.7*	29.4	*16.7*	41.2	*16.8*
9.	n = 19		26.3		52.6		21.1	

Missing observations = 4 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 16 have no ambition		mid-point		Item 37 motivated to get somewhere	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 48*	36.6	*10.0*	35.6	*18.0*	27.8	*72.0*
1.	n = 22	*n = 21*	50.0	*19.1*	18.2	*19.0*	31.8	*61.9*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	-	*11.1*	50.0	*33.3*	50.0	*55.5*
5.	n = 16		37.6		31.3		31.3	
6.	n = 3		66.7		33.3		0.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	33.4	*0.0*	44.4	*11.1*	22.3	*88.8*
9.	n = 19		42.2		36.8		21.1	

Missing observations = 5 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 17 waste money		mid-point		Item 38 generous with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 47*	49.5	*18.3*	25.3	*24.5*	25.3	*57.2*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	73.8	*23.9*	21.7	*19.0*	4.3	*57.2*
2.	n = 9	*n = 8*	33.3	*12.5*	55.6	*50.0*	11.1	*37.5*
5.	n = 17		58.8		23.5		17.7	
6	n = 3		33.3		0.0		66.6	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	27.7	*16.7*	11.1	*16.7*	61.1	*66.7*
9.	n = 19		42.1		31.6		26.3	

Missing observations = 4 *(2)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 18 clean and tidy		mid-point		Item 39 dirty uncared for	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 88	*n = 98*	25.5	*72.0*	57.6	*12.0*	16.7	*16.0*
1.	n = 21	*n = 21*	19.0	*66.7*	57.1	*9.5*	23.9	*23.8*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	10.0	*77.8*	50.0	*22.2*	40.0	*0.0*
5.	n = 16		31.3		62.6		6.3	
6.	n = 4		75.0		25.0		0.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	27.8	*72.3*	55.6	*11.1*	16.7	*16.7*
9.	n = 19		26.3		63.2		10.6	

Missing observations = 5 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 19 can't be counted on to do what they say		mid-point		Item 40 reliable	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 48*	34.8	*18.0*	34.8	*12.0*	30.5	*70.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 21*	47.8	*23.8*	34.8	*19.0*	17.3	*57.1*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	30.0	*33.3*	50.0	*11.1*	20.0	*55.5*
5.	n = 16		50.0		31.3		18.8	
6.	n = 4		75.0		0.0		25.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	5.6	*5.6*	38.9	*5.6*	55.6	*88.8*
9.	n = 19		31.6		36.8		31.6	

Missing observations = 3 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 20 even tempered		mid-point		Item 41 quick tempered	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 48*	17.2	*44.0*	38.7	*40.0*	44.1	*16.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 21*	12.6	*42.8*	33.3	*38.1*	54.2	*19.0*
2.	n = 10	*n = 9*	20.0	*55.6*	10.0	*33.3*	70.0	*11.1*
5.	n = 16		12.5		37.5		50.0	
6.	n = 4		0.0		25.0		75.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 18*	44.5	*43.5*	44.4	*44.4*	11.1	*11.2*
9.	n = 19		5.3		57.9		36.9	

Missing observations = 2 *(1)*

Institutions			Item 21 other things more important than money		mid-point		Item 42	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 45*	37.0	*34.0*	29.3	*46.0*	33.7	*20.0*
1.	n = 23	*n = 20*	17.3	*19.0*	34.8	*52.4*	47.8	*28.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 8*	22.2	*44.4*	55.6	*55.6*	22.2	*0.0*
5.	n = 17		23.5		35.3		41.1	
6.	n = 4		0.0		0.0		100.0	
8.	n = 18	*n = 17*	72.3	*44.5*	11.1	*38.9*	16.8	*16.7*
9.	n = 19		52.6		26.3		21.1	

Missing observations = 3 *(4)*

APPENDIX XIX

Schedule I

Aborigines Stereotype Italians

Non-Aborigines stereotype Italians

Key. Institutions

1 Pt. Augusta High

2. Augusta Park High

5. Taperoo High

6 Salisbury North High

8. . . S.A.I.T.

9. Stone's Business College

N = Possible number of responses n = 93 *N = 289*

n = Actual responses

Italics = non-Aboriginal responses

Institution		Item 1 trustworthy	mid-point		Item 22 untrustworthy	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 90	*n = 277*	23.9	*32.8*	35.9	*30.7*	40.3	*36.6*
1. n = 24	*n = 75*	37.5	*42.6*	29.2	*40.0*	33.3	*17.4*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	0.0	*29.4*	55.6	*33.3*	44.4	*37.2*
5. n = 17	*n = 89*	23.5	*19.2*	29.4	*24.7*	47.0	*56.1*
6. n = 4	*n = 62*	50.0	*33.9*	0.0	*29.0*	50.0	*37.2*
8 n = 17		23.5		41.2		35.3	
9 n = 19		10.5		47.4		42.1	

Missing observations = 3 *(12)*

Institution		Item 2 don't care what job is, as long as money is good	mid-point		Item 23 care about status	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 278*	42.0	*39.5*	9.7	*17.5*	48.4	*43.0*
1. n = 25	*n = 75*	36.0	*34.7*	20.0	*22.7*	44.0	*42.7*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	0.0	*35.2*	33.3	*17.6*	66.6	*47.1*
5. n = 16	*n = 88*	37.5	*50.1*	0.0	*14.8*	62.6	*35.3*
6. n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*34.4*	25.0	*17.2*	50.0	*48.4*
8. n = 18		72.2		0.0		27.8	
9 n = 19		47.4		0.0		52.6	

Missing observations = 2

Institution			Item 3 strong sense of right and wrong		mid-point		Item 24 poor sense of right and wrong	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 277*	37.6	*42.8*	33.3	*25.5*	29.1	*31.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	56.0	*41.3*	32.0	*41.3*	12.0	*17.4*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	11.1	*41.2*	33.3	*27.5*	55.5	*31.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 87*	37.6	*39.0*	25.0	*14.9*	37.6	*45.9*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*48.5*	25.0	*20.3*	50.0	*31.2*
8.	n = 18		27.9		44.4		27.9	
9.	n = 19		36.8		36.8		26.4	

Missing Observations = 2 *(12)*

Institution			Item 4 neglect children		mid-point		Item 25 are good parents	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 277*	10.8	*13.7*	25.8	*20.6*	63.4	*65.7*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	0.0	*12.0*	25.0	*17.3*	74.9	*70.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*17.6*	44.4	*23.5*	33.3	*58.8*
5.	n = 17	*n = 88*	22.6	*14.8*	17.6	*31.6*	58.9	*53.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*12.5*	0.0	*10.9*	50.0	*76.6*
8.	n = 18		5.6		16.7		77.7	
9.	n = 19		*5.3		36.8		58.0	

Missing Observations = 2 *(12)*

Institutions			Item 5 have no purpose in life		mid-point		Item 26 know where they are going	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 277*	13.0	*18.3*	29.0	*22.1*	58.1	*59.7*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	4.0	*7.9*	32.0	*22.7*	64.0	*69.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	55.5	*23.3*	33.3	*29.4*	11.1	*47.1*
5.	n = 17	*n = 88*	17.7	*22.8*	35.3	*21.6*	47.0	*55.6*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	25.0	*23.9*	25.0	*19.0*	50.0	*57.1*
8.	n = 17		5.9		23.5		70.6	
9.	n = 19		5.3		21.1		73.7	

Missing Observations = 2 *(12)*

Institutions		Item 6 are good providers		mid-point		Item 27 don't keep jobs	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 273*	59.2	*61.9*	19.4	*22.4*	21.5	*15.7*
1. n = 25	*n = 74*	68.0	*67.6*	20.0	*24.3*	12.0	*8.2*
2. n = 9	*n = 50*	22.2	*54.0*	11.1	*26.0*	66.6	*20.0*
5. n = 17	*n = 85*	29.4	*56.5*	41.2	*21.2*	29.4	*22.3*
6. n = 3	*n = 64*	66.6	*67.2*	33.3	*18.8*	0.0	*14.1*
8. n = 18		88.9		5.6		5.6	
9. n = 19		57.9		15.8		26.3	

Missing Observations = 2 *(16)*

Institutions		Item 7 mother makes rules in house		mid-point		Item 28 father makes rules	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 272*	14.0	*18.6*	29.0	*25.6*	57.0	*55.8*
1. n = 24	*n = 70*	16.7	*5.7*	41.7	*25.7*	41.7	*68.6*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	11.1	*23.5*	66.7	*27.5*	22.2	*48.9*
5. n = 17	*n = 67*	17.6	*27.5*	17.6	*24.1*	64.8	*48.2*
6. n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*20.3*	75.0	*23.4*	0.0	*56.3*
8. n = 18		16.7		22.2		61.1	
9. n = 19		5.3		5.3		89.5	

Missing Observations = 2 *(17)*

Institutions		Item 8 don't take care of possessions		mid-point		Item 29 care for possessions	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 276*	7.6	*15.3*	18.3	*18.0*	74.3	*66.8*
1. n = 25	*n = 74*	8.0	*2.8*	24.0	*16.2*	68.0	*81.0*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*19.7*	44.4	*21.6*	33.3	*58.8*
5. n = 16	*n = 88*	0.0	*27.2*	25.0	*20.5*	75.0	*52.3*
6. n = 4	*n = 63*	25.0	*11.1*	25.0	*17.5*	50.0	*71.4*
8. n = 18		5.6		5.6		88.9	
9. n = 19		5.3		5.3		89.5	

Missing observations = 2*(13)*

Schedule 1 (Cont.)

Institutions			Item 9 friendly		mid-point		Item 30 unfriendly	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 276*	29.7	*41.2*	37.2	*24.9*	33.0	*33.9*
1.	n = 25	*n = 73*	48.0	*46.6*	32.0	*28.8*	20.0	*24.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*41.2*	44.4	*25.5*	33.3	*33.2*
5.	n = 17	*n = 88*	35.3	*31.8*	29.4	*21.6*	35.3	*46.6*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*45.3*	25.0	*25.0*	25.0	*29.7*
8.	n = 18		16.7		44.4		38.9	
9	n = 19		15.9		42.1		42.1	

Missing Observations = 1 *(13)*

Institutions			Item 10 agressive pick fights		mid-point		Item 31 live and let live	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 276*	29.8	*38.0*	36.2	*27.0*	34.0	*34.9*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	12.0	*28.0*	40.0	*32.0*	48.0	*39.9*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	44.4	*37.3*	0.0	*29.4*	55.5	*33.3*
5.	n = 17	*n = 87*	64.7	*49.4*	17.6	*23.0*	17.6	*27.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 63*	0.0	*41.2*	0.0	*25.4*	100.0	*33.3*
8.	n = 18		22.3		72.2		5.6	
9.	n = 19		26.4		36.8		36.9	

Missing Observations = 1 *(13)*

Institutions			Item 11 know when to stop drinking		mid-point		Item 32 drink too much	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 274*	31.9	*39.8*	44.7	*32.1*	23.5	*28.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 74*	44.0	*44.7*	36.0	*39.2*	20.0	*16.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 50*	22.2	*38.0*	33.3	*36.0*	44.4	*26.0*
5.	n = 17	*n = 88*	41.2	*31.9*	41.2	*31.8*	17.6	*36.4*
6.	n = 4	*n = 62*	25.0	*43.6*	0.0	*24.2*	75.0	*32.2*
8.	n = 18		22.3		55.6		22.3	
9.	n = 19		26.3		63.2		10.6	

Missing Observations = 1 *(15)*

Schedule I

Institutions			Item 12 often in trouble with police		mid-point		Item 33 lead law abiding lives	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 92	*n = 275*	26.6	*31.6*	39.4	*25.3*	34.0	*43.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	24.0	*17.3*	28.0	*22.7*	48.0	*60.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	66.6	*29.4*	11.1	*35.3*	22.2	*35.3*
5.	n = 17	*n = 85*	35.4	*41.2*	35.3	*25.9*	29.4	*33.0*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*43.8*	0.0	*21.9*	50.0	*34.4*
8.	n = 18		22.3		38.9		38.9	
9.	n = 19		5.3		73.7		21.1	

Missing Observations = 1 *(14)*

Institutions			Item 13 often in debt		mid-point		Item 34 careful with money	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 275*	14.0	*19.7*	21.5	*19.4*	64.5	*60.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 73*	12.6	*13.6*	25.0	*23.3*	62.5	*63.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	33.3	*25.5*	11.1	*29.4*	55.5	*45.0*
5.	n = 17	*n = 87*	11.6	*28.7*	41.2	*16.1*	47.0	*55.2*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	25.0	*14.1*	50.0	*14.1*	25.0	*71.9*
8.	n = 18		16.7		5.6		77.8	
9.	n = 19		0.0		15.8		84.2	

Missing Observations = 2 *(14)*

Institutions			Item 14 aware of needs of others		mid-point		Item 34 put self and family first	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 275*	6.5	*18.4*	20.4	*19.4*	73.2	*62.2*
1.	n = 24	*n = 73*	0.0	*19.1*	16.7	*23.3*	83.3	*57.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	11.1	*23.5*	44.4	*23.5*	44.4	*52.9*
5.	n = 17	*n = 87*	5.9	*14.9*	41.2	*16.1*	53.0	*69.0*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*18.8*	25.0	*17.2*	25.0	*64.0*
8.	n = 18		5.6		5.6		89.0	
9.	n = 19		5.3		10.5		84.2	

Missing Observations = 2 *(14)*

Institutions		Item 15 speak English well		mid-point		Item 36 don't speak proper English	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 92	*n = 277*	5.3	*7.2*	10.6	*10.0*	84.0	*82.8*
1. n = 25	*n = 74*	4.0	*4.2*	24.0	*18.9*	72.0	*77.0*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*11.8*	11.1	*13.7*	66.6	*74.5*
5. n = 17	*n = 88*	0.0	*4.5*	5.9	*5.7*	94.1	*89.7*
6. n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*12.5*	0.0	*4.7*	100.0	*82.8*
8. n = 18		0.0		0.0		100.0	
9. n = 19		10.5		10.5		79.0	

Missing Observations = 2 *(12)*

Institutions		Item 16 have no ambition		mid-point		Item 37 motivated to get somewhere	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 274*	12.9	*18.1*	33.3	*23.7*	53.8	*58.1*
1. n = 25	*n = 73*	16.0	*10.9*	32.0	*26.0*	52.0	*63.0*
2. n = 9	*n = 50*	11.1	*20.0*	55.6	*20.0*	33.3	*60.0*
5. n = 16	*n = 87*	18.8	*24.0*	43.8	*29.9*	37.6	*45.9*
6. n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*18.8*	25.0	*18.8*	25.0	*62.6*
8. n = 18		11.2		22.2		66.7	
9. n = 19		0.0		26.3		73.6	

Missing Observations = 2 *(15)*

Institutions		Item 17 waste money		mid-point		Item 38 generous with money	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 91	*n = 273*	22.7	*21.0*	51.6	*38.8*	25.8	*40.2*
1. n = 25	*n = 74*	16.0	*10.9*	48.0	*48.6*	36.0	*40.6*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*17.6*	44.4	*45.1*	33.3	*37.3*
5. n = 16	*n = 86*	37.6	*32.6*	31.3	*33.7*	31.3	*33.7*
6. n = 4	*n = 62*	50.0	*19.3*	0.0	*30.6*	50.0	*50.0*
8. n = 18		11.1		61.1		27.8	
9. n = 19		26.4		73.7		0.0	

Missing Observations = 2 *(16)*

Institutions			Item 18 clean and tidy		mid-point		Item 39 dirty, uncared for	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 89	*n = 276*	41.8	*50.1*	38.5	*27.7*	19.8	*22.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 74*	44.0	*64.8*	40.0	*24.3*	16.0	*10.8*
2.	n = 8	*n = 51*	12.5	*49.0*	75.0	*27.5*	12.5	*23.6*
5.	n = 16	*n = 87*	68.9	*35.6*	18.8	*26.4*	12.6	*37.8*
6.	n = 3	*n = 64*	66.6	*50.0*	33.3	*35.9*	0.0	*14.1*
8.	n = 18		33.4		44.4		22.3	
9.	n = 19		36.9		31.6		31.6	

Missing Observations = 4 *(13)*

Institutions			Item 19 can't be counted on to do what they say		mid-point		Item 40 reliable	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 90	*n = 278*	18.4	*32.3*	45.7	*27.5*	35.8	*40.2*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	20.8	*24.0*	33.3	*34.7*	45.9	*41.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*27.5*	55.6	*33.3*	22.2	*39.2*
5.	n = 16	*n = 88*	25.1	*47.8*	37.5	*22.7*	37.6	*29.5*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	0.0	*29.7*	25.0	*23.4*	75.0	*46.9*
8.	n = 18		16.7		44.4		38.9	
9.	n = 19		15.8		63.2		21.1	

Missing Observations = 3 *(11)*

Institutions			Item 20 even tempered		mid-point		Item 41 quick tempered	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 91	*n = 278*	14.1	*15.5*	28.0	*23.4*	58.0	*61.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	16.0	*21.4*	48.0	*37.3*	36.0	*41.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 51*	22.2	*13.7*	11.1	*21.6*	66.6	*64.7*
5.	n = 16	*n = 88*	18.8	*6.7*	37.5	*18.2*	43.9	*75.0*
6.	n = 4	*n = 64*	50.0	*20.3*	25.0	*20.3*	25.0	*59.4*
8.	n = 18		11.1		5.6		83.4	
9.	n = 19		0.0		26.3		73.7	

Missing Observations = 2 *(11)*

Institutions		Item 21 other things more important than money		mid-point		Item 42 money and possessions important	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 89	*n = 277*	7.7	*20.6*	17.6	*26.9*	74.7	*52.4*
1. n = 25	*n = 75*	12.0	*21.3*	16.0	*42.7*	72.0	*36.0*
2. n = 9	*n = 51*	0.0	*21.5*	55.6	*29.4*	44.4	*49.1*
5. n = 16	*n = 88*	12.6	*21.5*	6.3	*17.0*	81.4	*61.3*
6. n = 2	*n = 63*	100.0	*20.7*	0.0	*25.4*	0.0	*54.0*
8. n = 18		0.0		11.1		88.9	
9. n = 19		0.0		15.8		84.2	

Missing observations 4 *(12)*

Schedule II

Theorizing statements by institution

Aboriginal response
Non-Aboriginal response

Key.

1.= Pt. Augusta High

2.= Augusta Park High

3.= Taperoo High

6.= Salisbury North

8.= S.A.I.T

9.= Stone's Business College

Note N = Possible number of respondents N = 289
N = 93

n = Actual number of respondents

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1. Vietnamese should leave all their way of life behind and become Australian.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 282*	20.3	*23.4*	19.1	*22.4*	60.7	*54.2*
	1. n = 24	*n = 76*	41.7	*17.1*	29.2	*28.9*	29.1	*53.9*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	0.0	*11.2*	11.1	*24.1*	88.9	*64.8*
	5. n = 16	*n = 89*	25.0	*32.6*	25.0	*18.0*	50.1	*49.5*
	6. n = 2	*n = 63*	0.0	*30.2*	50.0	*22.2*	50.0	*47.6*
	8. n = 18		0.0		11.1		88.9	
	9. n = 18		22.3		11.1		66.7	

Missing Observations = 6 *(7)*

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2. The best way to get a job is through trying hard at school.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 90	*n = 284*	76.1	*80.1*	10.9	*10.1*	13.1	*9.7*
	1. n = 25	*n = 76*	84.0	*88.2*	12.0	*5.3*	4.0	*6.6*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	88.9	*81.5*	0.0	*9.3*	11.1	*9.3*
	5. n = 16	*n = 91*	68.8	*73.7*	18.8	*14.3*	12.5	*12.1*
	6. n = 3	*n = 63*	100.0	*76.2*	0.0	*12.7*	0.0	*11.1*
	8. n = 18		55.6		16.7		27.8	
	9. n = 19		79.0		5.3		15.8	

Missing Observations = 3 *(5)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

3. It's no good trusting people, they only want something out of you.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 90	*n = 285*	30.4	*19.8*	33.7	*30.2*	35.8	*50.0*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	40.0	*14.3*	56.0	*40.3*	4.0	*45.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*14.9*	33.3	*31.5*	22.2	*53.7*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	43.8	*28.6*	25.0	*31.9*	31.3	*39.6*
6.	n = 3	*n = 63*	66.6	*20.6*	33.3	*19.0*	0.0	*60.3*
8.	n = 18		5.6		11.1		83.4	
9.	n = 19		21.0		31.6		47.4	

Missing Observations = 3 *(4)*

4. Sometimes I feel like I don't exist, that I don't matter to anyone.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 284*	30.0	*43.4*	23.3	*23.9*	46.7	*32.7*
1.	n = 23	*n = 77*	17.3	*48.1*	52.2	*23.4*	30.4	*28.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*44.5*	22.2	*25.9*	55.5	*29.6*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	43.8	*37.8*	31.3	*23.3*	25.1	*38.9*
6.	n = 3	*n = 63*	33.3	*38.1*	0.0	*27.0*	66.7	*34.9*
8.	n = 18		27.8		5.6		66.7	
9.	n = 19		31.6		5.3		63.2	

Missing Observations = 5 *(5)*

.5. It is good to have a mixture of cultures in Australia.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 90	*n = 281*	76.1	*52.7*	12.0	*25.2*	12.0	*22.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	84.0	*50.7*	16.0	*32.0*	0.0	*17.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	77.8	*50.9*	11.1	*26.4*	11.1	*42.9*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	62.6	*50.0*	6.3	*20.0*	31.3	*30.0*
6.	n = 3	*n = 63*	66.7	*60.3*	33.3	*23.8*	0.0	*15.8*
8.	n = 18		83.3		11.1		5.6	
9.	n = 19		68.4		10.5		21.1	

Missing Observations = 3 *(8)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

6. It's no good staying on at school to get a job.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 285*	8.8	*15.1*	26.4	*19.8*	64.9	*65.0*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	8.0	*5.2*	20.0	*23.4*	72.0	*71.5*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*13.0*	11.1	*27.8*	77.8	*59.3*
	5. n = 18	*n = 91*	6.3	*23.1*	43.8	*17.6*	50.1	*59.6*
	6. n = 3	*n = 63*	33.3	*20.6*	0.0	*14.3*	66.7	*65.1*
	8. n = 18		5.6		22.2		72.2	
	9. n = 18		11.2		38.9		50.0	

Missing Observations 4 *(4)*

7. It's no good asking help from teachers. They are not really interested.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 282*	20.9	*23.4*	20.9	*12.9*	58.3	*63.7*
	1. n = 25	*n = 75*	12.0	*22.7*	12.0	*12.0*	76.0	*65.4*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*16.7*	33.3	*7.4*	22.2	*75.9*
	5. n = 15	*n = 90*	26.7	*27.8*	26.7	*17.8*	46.7	*54.5*
	6. n = 3	*n = 63*	33.3	*27.0*	0.0	*11.1*	66.6	*61.9*
	8. n = 18		22.3		11.1		66.7	
	9. n = 19		15.8		31.6		52.7	

Missing Observations = 4 *(7)*

8. There are more important things in life than job or money.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 90	*n = 283*	38.1	*43.2*	19.6	*18.9*	41.2	*37.8*
	1. n = 25	*n = 76*	24.0	*38.1*	44.0	*19.7*	32.0	*42.1*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	33.3	*42.6*	11.1	*18.5*	55.5	*38.9*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	31.3	*44.5*	0.0	*15.6*	68.8	*40.0*
	6. n = 3	*n = 63*	0.0	*49.2*	66.7	*22.2*	33.3	*28.6*
	8. n = 18		72.2		11.1		16.7	
	9. n = 19		42.1		5.3		52.7	

Missing Observations = 3 *(6)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

9. No matter how hard I try at school, I won't get a job.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 281*	14.3	*98.0*	26.4	*26.2*	59.4	*63.9*
	1. n = 25	*n = 76*	8.0	*15.7*	48.0	*30.3*	44.0	*54.0*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*1.9*	11.1	*29.6*	66.7	*68.5*
	5. n = 16	*n = 88*	25.1	*11.4*	12.5	*25.0*	62.6	*63.6*
	6. n = 2	*n = 63*	50.0	*8.0*	0.0	*25.4*	50.0	*66.7*
	8. n = 18		0.0		22.2		77.8	
	9. n = 19		21.1		21.1		57.9	

Missing Observations = 4 *(8)*

10. Migrants from Europe are alright, but it is better not to have coloured people.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 283*	6.6	*16.9*	8.9	*19.6*	84.4	*63.5*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	8.0	*13.0*	12.0	*23.4*	80.0	*63.7*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*20.4*	0.0	*20.4*	77.8	*59.3*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	6.3	*27.8*	18.8	*17.8*	39.1	*54.4*
	6. n = 2	*n = 62*	50.0	*6.5*	0.0	*16.1*	50.0	*77.4*
	8. n = 18		0.0		5.6		94.4	
	9. n = 18		0.0		5.6		94.5	

Missing Observations = 5 *(6)*

11. It is no good for Aborigines to look for jobs at the Commonwealth Employment Service. They won't get one.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	23.1	*10.2*	13.2	*21.2*	62.7	*68.6*
	1. n = 25	*n = 73*	12.0	*6.9*	20.0	*17.8*	68.0	*75.3*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*5.6*	0.0	*13.0*	77.8	*81.5*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	25.0	*15.5*	6.3	*25.6*	68.8	*58.9*
	6. n = 2	*n = 63*	0.0	*10.1*	0.0	*27.0*	100.0	*61.9*
	8. n = 18		38.9		11.1		50.0	
	9. n = 19		26.4		21.1		52.7	

Missing Observations = 4*(9)*

12. It's no good worrying about things. You can't change anything in the world.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 280*	41.1	*40.2*	21.1	*26.3*	37.8	*33.4*
	1. n = 24	*n = 76*	16.7	*36.8*	45.8	*30.3*	37.5	*32.9*
	2. n = 9	*n = 53*	44.4	*41.5*	22.2	*26.4*	33.3	*32.1*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	43.8	*44.5*	12.5	*21.1*	43.8	*34.4*
	6. n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*42.6*	0.0	*27.9*	100.0	*29.6*
	8. n = 18		33.4		18.7		50.0	
	9. n = 19		79.0		0.0		21.0	

Missing Observations = 5 *(9)*

13. I don't have to worry about getting a job - my parents and relations and friends will help me.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	9.9	*11.0*	19.8	*17.4*	69.3	*71.6*
	1. n = 25	*n = 76*	12.0	*10.5*	32.0	*23.7*	56.0	*65.8*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*5.6*	0.0	*11.1*	88.9	*83.3*
	5. n = 16	*n = 89*	6.3	*13.5*	43.8	*14.6*	50.0	*71.9*
	6. n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*13.1*	0.0	*23.0*	100.0	*63.9*
	8. n = 18		11.1		0.0		88.9	
	9. n = 19		10.6		15.8		73.7	

Missing Observations = 4 *(9)*

14. I often feel people are looking at me and wish I could hide so that they couldn't see me.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	22.0	*31.0*	22.0	*23.5*	56.1	*45.4*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	20.0	*37.7*	40.0	*19.5*	40.0	*42.9*
	2. n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*28.3*	11.1	*26.4*	66.6	*45.3*
	5. n = 16	*n = 88*	31.3	*23.9*	18.8	*20.5*	50.1	*55.7*
	6. n = 2	*n = 62*	0.0	*27.5*	50.0	*33.9*	50.0	*38.7*
	8. n = 18		16.7		11.1		72.2	
	9. n = 19		26.4		10.5		63.2	

Missing Observations = 4*(9)*

15. The easiest place for me to get a job is with the Government.

		Agree		Not Sure		Disagree	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 89	*n = 279*	27.5	*11.6*	31.9	*34.6*	40.7	*53.8*
1. n = 25	*n = 75*	16.0	*13.3*	44.0	*44.0*	40.0	*42.7*
2. n = 9	*n = 52*	11.1	*9.6*	44.4	*34.6*	44.4	*55.8*
5. n = 16	*n = 90*	12.6	*14.4*	31.3	*30.0*	56.3	*55.6*
6. n = 2	*n = 62*	0.0	*6.5*	50.0	*32.3*	50.0	*61.2*
8. n = 18		55.6		11.1		33.3	
9. n = 19		42.1		26.3		31.6	

Missing Observations = 4 *(10)*

16. It's no good keeping in with relations they are always fighting with each other. It's better to get out by myself.

		Agree		Not Sure		Disagree	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 89	*n = 283*	45.1	*33.8*	23.1	*28.0*	31.9	*38.1*
1. n = 25	*n = 76*	56.0	*38.2*	36.0	*30.3*	8.0	*31.6*
2. n = 9	*n = 54*	33.3	*27.8*	22.2	*31.5*	44.4	*40.8*
5. n = 16	*n = 91*	37.5	*27.5*	31.3	*28.6*	31.3	*44.0*
6. n = 2	*n = 62*	0.0	*40.3*	100.0	*19.4*	0.0	*40.3*
8. n = 18		44.5		5.6		50.0	
9. n = 19		52.7		10.5		36.9	

Missing Observations = 4 *(6)*

17. One of the places I feel really worthwhile and important is at church.

		Agree		Not Sure		Disagree	
		%		%		%	
Total n = 89	*n = 275*	16.5	*15.3*	46.2	*24.7*	37.4	*60.0*
1. n = 25	*n = 77*	20.0	*11.7*	56.0	*31.2*	24.0	*57.2*
2. n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*16.7*	55.6	*20.4*	33.3	*62.9*
5. n = 16	*n = 84*	6.3	*9.5*	50.0	*19.0*	43.8	*71.5*
6. n = 3	*n = 60*	66.6	*21.6*	0.0	*30.0*	33.3	*48.3*
8. n = 18		5.6		44.4		50.0	
9. n = 18		27.8		33.3		38.9	

Missing Observations = 4 *(14)*

18. People in our suburb are friendly and willing to help if you need them.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 281*	42.7	*52.7*	30.3	*25.9*	27.0	*21.4*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	32.0	*58.7*	56.0	*28.0*	12.0	*13.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	33.3	*50.0*	11.1	*29.6*	55.5	*20.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 91*	62.5	*51.7*	18.8	*23.1*	18.8	*25.3*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*47.5*	0.0	*24.6*	0.0	*27.9*
8.	n = 18		44.4		11.1		44.4	
9.	n = 17		35.3		41.2		23.5	

Missing Observations = 6 *(8)*

19. I think Aborigines should merge into the general population.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 281*	51.7	*47.0*	27.0	*32.3*	21.4	*20.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 75*	54.1	*36.0*	29.2	*44.0*	16.7	*20.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*37.0*	33.3	*24.1*	22.2	*38.9*
5.	n = 15	*n = 91*	60.0	*50.6*	40.0	*29.7*	0.0	*19.8*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*65.6*	0.0	*27.9*	50.0	*6.5*
8.	n = 18		33.4		22.2		44.5	
9.	n = 19		63.2		15.8		21.1	

Missing Observations = 6 *(8)*

20. I don't worry about getting a job. I know I'll end up on the dole.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 283*	6.6	*5.8*	18.9	*9.1*	74.4	*84.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 78*	4.0	*5.1*	28.0	*15.4*	68.0	*79.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*0.0*	11.1	*11.1*	66.6	*88.9*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	18.8	*7.8*	12.5	*5.6*	68.8	*66.6*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*8.2*	0.0	*6.6*	100.0	*85.2*
8.	n = 18		0.0		11.1		88.9	
9.	n = 18		0.0		21.1		78.9	

Missing Observations = 5 *(6)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

21. The way you know you are a success is by the amount of money you earn.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree: %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 281*	21.1	*21.1*	23.3	*19.7*	55.6	*59.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 78*	28.0	*19.2*	36.0	*30.8*	36.0	*50.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*15.1*	33.3	*18.9*	44.4	*66.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	31.3	*24.7*	43.8	*19.1*	25.0	*56.2*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*26.3*	50.0	*9.8*	50.0	*64.0*
8.	n = 18		16.7		0.0		83.4	
9.	n = 18		11.1		5.6		83.3	

Missing Observations = 5 *(8)*

22. Whatever people think about me now, I can always change.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 281*	50.0	*50.3*	28.9	*29.6*	21.1	*20.0*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	56.0	*50.7*	40.0	*28.6*	4.0	*20.8*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*60.0*	33.3	*29.6*	22.2	*20.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	62.5	*57.8*	31.3	*30.0*	6.3	*12.2*
6.	n = 2	*n = 60*	50.0	*41.6*	50.0	*30.0*	0.0	*28.3*
8.	n = 17		47.1		5.9		47.1	
9.	n = 19		42.1		26.3		26.3	

Missing Observations = 5*(8)*

23. I think people like me for myself and don't worry about my looks or clothing or the sort of house we have.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 279*	64.4	*56.5*	24.4	*26.4*	11.1	*17.2*
1.	n = 25	*n = 78*	48.0	*60.3*	32.0	*20.5*	20.0	*19.2*
2.	n = 9	*n = 52*	44.4	*46.1*	44.4	*28.8*	11.1	*25.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	50.1	*55.1*	37.5	*33.7*	12.6	*11.3*
6.	n = 2	*n = 60*	50.0	*63.4*	50.0	*21.7*	0.0	*15.0*
8.	n = 18		77.8		11.1		11.1	
9.	n = 18		100.0		0.0		0.0	

Missing Observations = 5 *(10)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

24. I would like to know what people really think of me.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 281*	69.2	*74.5*	23.1	*16.7*	7.7	*8.8*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	68.0	*71.5*	32.0	*18.2*	0.0	*10:4*
	2. n = 54	*n = 54*	77.8	*74.1*	22.2	*24.1*	0.0	*1.9*
	5. n = 16	*n = 89*	100.0	*74.1*	0.0	*16.9*	0.0	*9.0*
	6. n = 2	*n = 61*	100.0	*74.4*	0.0	*11.5*	0.0	*13.1*
	8. n = 18		38.9		33.3		27.8	
	9. n = 19		63.2		26.3		10.6	

Missing Observations = 4*(8)*

25. The way you can tell you are a success is if you get a job.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 283*	41.8	*37.1*	22.0	*26.4*	36.3	*36.5*
	1. n = 25	*n = 78*	56.0	*38.5*	24.0	*35.9*	20.0	*25.7*
	2. n = 9	*n = 53*	55.5	*24.6*	22.2	*37.7*	22.2	*37.8*
	5. n = 16	*n = 91*	43.8	*44.0*	25.0	*17.6*	31.3	*38.5*
	6. n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*39.3*	100.0	*19.7*	0.0	*40.9*
	8. n = 18		16.7		11.1		72.3	
	9. n = 19		42.1		21.1		36.9	

Missing Observations = 4 *(6)*

26. It's no good asking people in authority to help. They don't care.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 86	*n = 283*	19.3	*17.6*	37.5	*33.8*	43.2	*48.6*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	4.0	*9.1*	60.0	*44.2*	36.0	*46.8*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	33.3	*14.8*	44.4	*35.2*	22.2	*50.0*
	5. n = 15	*n = 91*	20.0	*27.5*	46.7	*34.1*	33.3	*38.5*
	6. n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*16.4*	0.0	*21.3*	50.0	*62.3*
	8. n = 18		22.3		16.7		61.2	
	9. n = 17		23.5		23.5		52.9	

Missing Observations = 7 *(6)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

27. I think people drink too much because it is a social thing.

		Agree	%	Not Sure	%	Disagree	%
Total n = 88	*n = 279*	68.9	*50.0*	17.8	*27.7*	13.3	*22.3*
1. n = 25	*n = 78*	68.0	*46.2*	20.0	*32.1*	12.0	*21.8*
2. n = 9	*n = 52*	88.9	*53.8*	11.1	*25.0*	0.0	*21.1*
5. n = 16	*n = 90*	56.3	*48.9*	25.0	*30.0*	18.8	*21.2*
6. n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*54.3*	50.0	*20.3*	0.0	*25.4*
8. n = 18		83.4		11.1		5.6	
9. n = 18		66.7		11.1		22.3	

Missing Observations = 5 *(10)*

28. If things get hard at school, I give up. There's no point in trying.

		Agree	%	Not Sure	%	Disagree	%
Total n = 88	*n = 279*	14.4	*13.3*	20.0	*10.3*	65.5	*76.4*
1. n = 25	*n = 76*	16.0	*7.9*	32.0	*10.5*	52.0	*81.6*
2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*9.3*	11.1	*18.5*	66.6	*72.2*
5. n = 16	*n = 98*	18.8	*18.2*	31.3	*10.2*	50.1	*71.6*
6. n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*18.0*	0.0	*4.9*	100.0	*77.1*
8. n = 18		0.0		11.1		88.9	
9. n = 18		22.2		5.6		72.2	

Missing Observations = 5 *(10)*

29. I think everyone has to look after himself. There's no point expecting any help from others.

		Agree	%	Not Sure	%	Disagree	%
Total n = 89	*n = 281*	40.7	*32.3*	22.0	*24.1*	37.4	*43.5*
1. n = 25	*n = 76*	44.0	*31.6*	32.0	*21.1*	24.0	*47.3*
2. n = 9	*n = 54*	66.6	*24.1*	22.2	*27.8*	11.1	*48.1*
5. n = 16	*n = 91*	50.1	*38.5*	18.8	*20.9*	31.3	*40.7*
6. n = 2	*n = 81*	0.0	*34.2*	50.0	*29.5*	50.0	*36.1*
8. n = 18		16.7		16.7		66.7	
9. n = 19		47.3		10.5		42.1	

Missing Observations = 4*(8)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

30. I only come to school because I have to. There's no real point.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 281*	14.6	*15.6*	10.1	*10.9*	75.2	*73.5*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	8.0	*15.6*	20.0	*7.8*	72.0	*76.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	33.3	*7.6*	11.1	*9.4*	55.5	*83.0*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	26.7	*18.9*	13.3	*15.6*	60.0	*65.5*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*19.7*	0.0	*9.8*	50.0	*70.5*
8.	n = 17		5.9		5.9		88.2	
9.	n = 19		5.3		0.0		94.8	

Missing Observations = 6 *(8)*

31. I think Aborigines should form strong groups among themselves so they can get somewhere

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 279*	69.6	*41.8*	12.4	*32.5*	18.0	*25.7*
1.	n = 25	*n = 75*	64.0	*29.3*	20.0	*44.0*	16.0	*26.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	66.7	*22.7*	22.2	*39.6*	11.1	*37.7*
5.	n = 14	*n = 90*	64.3	*53.4*	7.1	*20.0*	28.6	*26.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*57.3*	50.0	*27.9*	50.0	*14.8*
8.	n = 18		94.4		0.0		5.6	
9.	n = 19		68.4		10.5		21.0	

Missing Observations = 6 *(10)*

32. Sometimes I feel like doing something bad just to show I exist.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 282*	23.6	*32.9*	15.7	*18.3*	60.7	*48.8*
1.	n = 24	*n = 78*	12.5	*24.4*	33.3	*19.2*	54.2	*56.4*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*28.3*	11.1	*18.9*	66.7	*52.8*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	37.5	*32.2*	12.5	*22.2*	50.0	*45.6*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*47.6*	0.0	*13.1*	50.0	*39.4*
8.	n = 18		16.7		11.1		72.2	
9.	n = 18		27.8		5.6		66.6	

Missing Observations = 6 *(7)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

33. We have lots of family get togethers that are fun.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 280*	59.6	*50.8*	21.3	*14.3*	19.1	*34.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	68.0	*51.4*	24.0	*9.2*	8.0	*39.4*
2.	n = 8	*n = 53*	62.5	*56.6*	25.0	*9.4*	12.5	*34.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	62.5	*48.8*	37.5	*15.6*	0.0	*35.5*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	50.0	*52.5*	50.0	*23.0*	0.0	*24.6*
8.	n = 17		58.8		5.9		35.3	
9.	n = 19		47.4		15.8		36.9	

Missing Observations = 6 *(9)*

34. Sometimes I wish I had different parents.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 277*	17.8	*30.7*	8.9	*10.7*	73.3	*58.3*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	12.0	*24.0*	20.0	*14.5*	68.0	*60.5*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*29.6*	11.1	*16.7*	77.8	*53.7*
5.	n = 15	*n = 87*	46.7	*32.2*	12.5	*5.7*	46.6	*60.9*
6	n = 2	*n = 60*	50.0	*31.6*	6.7	*10.0*	0.0	*58.3*
8.	n = 18		5.6		0.0		94.5	
9.	n = 19		15.8		0.0		84.2	

Missing Observations = 5 *(12)*

35. The chief thing that shows you are a success is if you have lots of friends.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 86	*n = 281*	20.4	*37.8*	27.3	*24.1*	52.3	*38.1*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	16.7	*31.5*	54.2	*36.8*	29.2	*31.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*37.0*	22.2	*20.4*	55.5	*42.6*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	40.0	*43.3*	20.0	*16.7*	40.0	*40.0*
6.	n = 2	*n = 61*	0.0	*41.0*	50.0	*23.0*	50.0	*36.1*
8.	n = 17		11.8		11.8		76.4	
9.	n = 19		15.8		15.8		68.5	

Missing Observations = 7 *(8)*

36. If I had a chance I would go to another school where they cared about you as a person.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 279*	29.2	*20.5*	23.6	*26.0*	47.2	*53.5*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	20.0	*19.5*	44.0	*20.8*	36.0	*59.8*
	2. n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*15.0*	22.2	*35.8*	55.5	*49.1*
	5. n = 16	*n = 89*	37.6	*22.4*	25.0	*27.0*	37.3	*50.5*
	6. n = 2	*n = 60*	0.0	*28.3*	50.0	*26.7*	50.0	*45.0*
	8. n = 17		23.6		17.6		58.8	
	9. n = 18		44.5		0.0		55.5	

Missing Observations = 6 *(10)*

37. I think Australians worry that Vietnamese will get their jobs.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	59.4	*64.8*	19.8	*19.5*	20.9	*15.7*
	1. n = 25	*n = 76*	52.0	*64.5*	44.0	*28.9*	4.0	*6.6*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*62.9*	11.1	*20.4*	66.6	*16.7*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	50.1	*67.7*	18.8	*14.4*	31.3	*17.8*
	6. n = 2	*n = 60*	50.0	*63.4*	0.0	*15.0*	50.0	*21.7*
	8. n = 18		77.8		16.7		5.6	
	9. n = 19		78.9		0.0		21.1	

Missing Observations = 4 *(9)*

38. I just can't see where my future is or what will happen to me.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 280*	26.4	*43.4*	41.8	*31.4*	31.9	*25.3*
	1. n = 25	*n = 77*	28.0	*42.9*	56.0	*32.5*	16.0	*24.7*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*44.4*	44.4	*42.6*	33.3	*13.0*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	37.6	*42.2*	43.8	*27.8*	18.8	*30.0*
	6. n = 2	*n = 59*	0.0	*44.0*	50.0	*25.4*	50.0	*30.5*
	8. n = 18		33.4		16.7		50.0	
	9. n = 19		15.8		42.1		42.1	

Missing Observations = 4

39. I don't really feel anyone thinks I'm important. No-one would really miss me.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 278*	9.9	*25.5*	24.2	*24.1*	65.9	*50.5*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	12.0	*19.5*	36.0	*29.9*	52.0	*50.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*29.6*	22.2	*22.2*	66.6	*48.1*
5.	n = 16	*n = 88*	12.5	*29.5*	25.0	*22.7*	62.6	*47.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*27.1*	0.0	*18.6*	50.0	*54.3*
8.	n = 18		5.6		16.7		77.8	
9.	n = 19		5.3		21.1		73.7	

Missing Observations = 4 *(11)*

40. My English is not good enough for mixing with people comfortably.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 275*	16.7	*13.9*	15.6	*10.8*	67.8	*75.3*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	28.0	*18.5*	28.0	*6.6*	44.0	*75.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	22.2	*5.7*	0.0	*20.8*	77.8	*73.6*
5.	n = 16	*n = 87*	18.8	*12.6*	12.5	*11.5*	68.8	*74.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*15.3*	0.0	*6.8*	50.0	*77.9*
8.	n = 18		5.6		16.7		77.8	
9.	n = 18		5.6		11.1		83.3	

Missing Observations = 5 *(14)*

41. I have lots of relations that I can count on when I need help.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 277*	55.5	*51.4*	25.6	*18.3*	18.9	*30.3*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	68.0	*48.1*	24.0	*18.2*	8.0	*33.8*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	66.6	*49.0*	33.3	*20.8*	0.0	*30.2*
5.	n = 16	*n = 88*	62.5	*51.1*	25.0	*14.8*	12.5	*34.1*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*57.7*	50.0	*20.3*	0.0	*22.0*
8.	n = 18		61.1		11.1		27.8	
9.	n = 18		22.3		38.9		38.9	

Missing Observations = 5 *(12)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

42. If my English were better, I'd have a better chance of getting a job.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 278*	34.1	*26.8*	27.5	*20.6*	38.5	*52.6*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	20.0	*32.9*	52.0	*25.0*	28.0	*42.1*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*20.4*	22.2	*22.2*	33.3	*57.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	50.1	*25.9*	25.0	*18.0*	25.0	*56.2*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*25.4*	0.0	*18.6*	50.0	*55.9*
8.	n = 18		22.3		16.7		61.1	
9.	n = 19		42.1		10.5		47.4	

Missing Observations = 4 *(11)*

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43. I think you are really a success if you can cope with whatever life brings.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 278*	66.3	*70.8*	22.5	*19.2*	11.2	*9.9*
1.	n = 25	*n = 78*	48.0	*67.9*	48.0	*23.1*	4.0	*9.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 52*	77.8	*63.4*	22.2	*25.0*	0.0	*11.5*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	62.5	*75.5*	31.3	*13.3*	6.3	*11.1*
6.	n = 2	*n = 58*	50.0	*75.9*	50.0	*17.2*	0.0	*6.9*
8.	n = 17		82.3		0.0		17.7	
9.	n = 18		77.8		0.0		22.2	

Missing Observations = 4 *(11)*

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44. Seeing Aborigines were here long before migrants, they ought to get jobs before migrants.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 277*	61.2	*34.1*	23.3	*30.7*	15.5	*35.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	60.0	*27.3*	28.0	*31.2*	12.0	*41.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 52*	55.5	*15.4*	44.4	*40.4*	0.0	*44.2*
5.	n = 16	*n = 90*	75.1	*43.3*	12.5	*26.7*	12.5	*30.0*
6.	n = 2	*n = 58*	50.0	*50.0*	50.0	*25.9*	0.0	*24.1*
8.	n = 18				11.1		38.9	
9.	n = 18				22.2		11.1	

Missing Observations = 5*(12)*

45. I know if I work hard now I will get benefits later.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 89	*n = 276*	51.7	*71.3*	35.2	*20.8*	13.2	*7.6*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	36.0	*76.3*	44.0	*18.4*	20.0	*5.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	66.7	*72.2*	33.3	*24.1*	0.0	*3.8*
5.	n = 16	*n = 87*	31.3	*67.8*	56.3	*19.5*	12.5	*11.4*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*66.1*	50.0	*25.4*	0.0	*8.5*
8.	n = 18		83.3		11.1		5.6	
9.	n = 19		57.9		26.3		15.8	

Missing Observations = 4 *(13)*

46. I often feel ashamed of my family.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 86	*n = 275*	8.0	*17.4*	9.1	*14.6*	82.9	*68.1*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	16.0	*16.9*	8.0	*18.2*	76.0	*65.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	0.0	*20.4*	0.0	*9.3*	100.0	*70.3*
5.	n = 16	*n = 85*	6.3	*13.0*	25.0	*15.3*	68.8	*71.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	0.0	*18.7*	0.0	*11.9*	100.0	*69.5*
8.	n = 18		5.6		0.0		94.5	
9.	n = 18		6.3		6.3		87.5	

Missing Observations = 7 *(14)*

47. I would like it better if there were a few more rules and regulations so that I know what I am supposed to do to be a success.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 273*	25.5	*23.8*	41.1	*44.4*	33.4	*31.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 77*	24.0	*29.9*	72.0	*51.9*	4.0	*18.2*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	22.2	*13.0*	44.4	*42.6*	33.3	*44.5*
5.	n = 16	*n = 83*	31.3	*26.5*	37.5	*39.8*	25.1	*33.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	0.0	*22.0*	100.0	*42.4*	0.0	*35.6*
8.	n = 18		22.3		16.7		61.2	
9.	n = 18		22.3		22.2		55.6	

Missing Observations = 5 *(16)*

48. I wish our family owned a house. I'd feel more secure.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 63	*n = 122*	32.3	*50.4*	38.5	*24.8*	29.2	*24.8*
1.	n = 19	*n = 26*	26.4	*50.0*	63.2	*38.5*	10.5	*11.5*
2.	n = 5	*n = 28*	20.0	*57.2*	60.0	*25.0*	20.0	*17.8*
5.	n = 11	*n = 41*	45.5	*46.4*	18.2	*12.2*	36.4	*41.4*
6.	n = 2	*n = 27*	50.0	*51.8*	0.0	*29.6*	50.0	*18.5*
8.	n = 14		42.8		0.0		57.1	
9.	n = 12		25.0		50.0		25.0	

Missing Observations = 30 *(167)*

non-Aborigines with houses 167/289 Aborigines with houses 30/93.

49. I never know what to expect at home. Sometimes I'm blamed for things that happen. Sometimes no-one cares about the same things.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 85	*n = 270*	41.4	*49.8*	27.6	*22.6*	31.0	*27.5*
1.	n = 24	*n = 77*	25.0	*49.4*	58.3	*23.4*	16.7	*27.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	44.4	*42.6*	33.3	*37.0*	22.2	*20.4*
5.	n = 16	*n = 80*	68.8	*53.7*	25.0	*17.5*	6.3	*28.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*47.5*	50.0	*15.3*	0.0	*37.3*
8.	n = 17		29.4		5.9		64.7	
9.	n = 17		52.9		0.0		47.1	

Missing Observations = 8 *(19)*

50. I had a nickname, but I'd rather not tell it. I'd be ashamed of it.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 69	*n = 197*	38.1	*30.9*	14.1	*18.6*	47.9	*50.5*
1.	n = 17	*n = 48*	23.6	*41.7*	47.1	*18.8*	29.4	*39.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 45*	11.1	*13.3*	11.1	*13.3*	77.8	*73.4*
5.	n = 12	*n = 56*	75.0	*44.7*	0.0	*19.6*	25.0	*35.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 48*	100.0	*20.8*	0.0	*22.9*	0.0	*56.3*
8.	n = 17		23.5		5.9		70.6	
9.	n = 13		53.9		0.0		46.2	

Missing Observations = 24 *(92)*

51. I think Aborigines should try to be white.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 267*	12.4	*11.5*	6.7	*16.8*	80.9	*71.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	12.0	*9.2*	12.0	*21.1*	76.0	*69.7*
2.	n = 9	*n = 53*	0.0	*11.3*	0.0	*20.8*	100.0	*67.9*
5.	n = 16	*n = 79*	6.3	*20.3*	0.0	*10.1*	93.8	*69.6*
6.	n = 2	*n = 59*	0.0	*5.1*	0.0	*18.6*	100.0	*76.2*
8.	n = 17		11.8		0.0		88.2	
9.	n = 18		22.2		16.7		61.1	

Missing Observations = 6 *(22)*

52. If you want to get on in the world you have to fight for yourself.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 278*	52.8	*61.8*	18.0	*20.6*	29.2	*17.5*
1.	n = 24	*n = 77*	45.0	*62.4*	29.2	*24.7*	25.0	*13.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	55.5	*61.1*	11.1	*27.8*	33.3	*11.2*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	68.8	*60.7*	18.8	*15.7*	12.6	*23.6*
6.	n = 2	*n = 58*	50.0	*65.6*	0.0	*12.1*	50.0	*22.4*
8.	n = 18		61.1		5.6		33.3	
9.	n = 18		44.4		16.7		38.9	

Missing Observations = 6 *(11)*

53. I wish we had a better house. I feel embarrassed having friends around.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 272*	21.3	*10.9*	13.5	*12.3*	65.2	*76.8*
1.	n = 25	*n = 76*	16.0	*10.5*	20.0	*9.2*	64.0	*80.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 52*	11.1	*0.0*	0.0	*19.2*	88.9	*54.8*
5.	n = 16	*n = 87*	25.1	*6.9*	18.8	*13.8*	56.3	*69.0*
6.	n = 2	*n = 58*	50.0	*5.2*	0.0	*10.3*	50.0	*79.3*
8.	n = 17		23.5		5.9		70.6	
9.	n = 18		22.3		16.7		61.1	

Missing Observations = 6 *(17)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

54. If you make an effort people will help you.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 277*	68.9	*77.8*	25.6	*15.6*	5.5	*6.6*
	1. n = 25	*n = 78*	56.0	*80.7*	36.0	*15.4*	8.0	*3.9*
	2. n = 9	*n = 51*	66.7	*62.7*	22.2	*31.4*	11.1	*5.9*
	5. n = 16	*n = 89*	56.3	*78.7*	43.8	*12.4*	0.0	*9.0*
	6. n = 2	*n = 59*	50.0	*81.3*	50.0	*10.2*	0.0	*8.5*
	8. n = 18		77.8		11.1		11.1	
	9. n = 18		88.9		11.1		0.0	

Missing Observations = 5 *(12)*

55. I think people are alcoholics because they have no purpose in life.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 88	*n = 279*	56.7	*42.1*	21.1	*28.8*	22.2	*29.1*
	1. n = 24	*n = 78*	41.7	*38.4*	37.5	*37.2*	20.8	*24.3*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	33.3	*37.0*	11.1	*20.4*	55.5	*42.6*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	75.1	*38.9*	6.3	*34.4*	18.8	*26.7*
	6. n = 2	*n = 57*	50.0	*56.1*	50.0	*17.5*	0.0	*26.4*
	8. n = 18		61.1		11.1		27.8	
	9. n = 19		68.4		21.1		10.5	

Missing Observations = 5 *(10)*

56. Life would be better in Australia if everyone tried to learn about other cultures.

			Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 278*	64.0	*55.6*	23.6	*27.1*	12.3	*17.2*
	1. n = 24	*n = 77*	45.8	*58.5*	50.0	*28.6*	4.2	*13.0*
	2. n = 9	*n = 54*	77.8	*48.2*	11.1	*25.9*	11.1	*25.9*
	5. n = 16	*n = 90*	56.3	*56.7*	18.8	*26.7*	25.0	*16.7*
	6. n = 2	*n = 57*	50.0	*57.9*	0.0	*22.8*	50.0	*19.3*
	8. n = 17		82.3		5.9		11.8	
	9. n = 19		68.4		21.1		10.6	

Missing Observations = 6 *(11)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

57. I hope to get a job when I leave school but there is a lot of unemployment and I might miss out.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 86	*n = 279*	57.9	*80.5*	28.4	*8.6*	13.6	*11.0*
1.	n = 24	*n = 78*	54.2	*85.9*	37.5	*5.1*	8.4	*9.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	66.7	*77.8*	22.2	*14.8*	11.1	*7.4*
5.	n = 15	*n = 90*	53.3	*72.2*	33.3	*10.0*	13.4	*17.7*
6.	n = 2	*n = 57*	50.0	*86.0*	50.0	*7.0*	0.0	*7.0*
8.	n = 17		58.8		17.6		23.5	
9.	n = 19		57.9		26.3		15.8	

Missing Observations = 7 *(10)*

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58. It's worth saving up money to buy something worthwhile that I really want, even if I have to go without now.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 87	*n = 276*	75.3	*86.9*	21.3	*9.7*	3.3	*3.4*
1.	n = 24	*n = 76*	70.8	*92.4*	29.2	*3.9*	0.0	*2.6*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	66.7	*79.6*	33.3	*20.4*	0.0	*0.0*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	68.8	*85.4*	31.3	*10.1*	0.0	*4.4*
6.	n = 2	*n = 57*	100.0	*86.0*	0.0	*7.0*	0.0	*7.1*
8.	n = 18		77.8		5.6		16.7	
9.	n = 18		88.9		11.1		0.0	

Missing Observations = 6 *(13)*

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59. I think Australian people show discrimination when the employ people. They would rather not employ Aborigines.

		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %	
Total	n = 86	*n = 276*	60.2	*60.2*	19.3	*22.5*	20.5	*17.3*
1.	n = 23	*n = 76*	52.2	*52.7*	21.7	*26.3*	26.1	*21.0*
2.	n = 9	*n = 54*	11.1	*52.7*	33.3	*29.6*	55.5	*16.7*
5.	n = 16	*n = 89*	56.3	*61.8*	18.8	*21.3*	25.0	*16.8*
6.	n = 2	*n = 57*	50.0	*75.4*	0.0	*10.5*	50.0	*14.1*
8.	n = 18		88.9		11.1		0.0	
9.	n = 18		66.6		22.2		11.1	

Missing Observations = 7 *(13)*

Schedule II (Cont.)

60. I often fell self-conscious about my looks.

			Agree		Not Sure		Disagree	
			%		%		%	
Total	n = 83	*n = 276*	30.6	*54.7*	56.5	*24.9*	33.0	*20.4*
1.	n = 23	*n = 77*	39.1	*55.3*	47.8	*22.1*	13.0	*24.7*
2.	n = 28	*n = 54*	0.0	*59.3*	50.0	*27.8*	50.0	*13.0*
5.	n = 15	*n = 89*	26.7	*51.7*	53.3	*29.2*	20.0	*19.1*
6.	n = 2	*n = 56*	100.0	*53.6*	0.0	*19.6*	0.0	*26.8*
8.	n = 18		27.8		11.1		61.1	
9.	n = 17		29.4		29.4		41.2	

Missing Observations = 10 *(13)*

APPENDIX XXI

Schedule II Non-Aboriginal Response

Compared with Aboriginal response

Majority Support % - Agree/Disagree

N = 302 *N = 89*	Agree Strongly		Agree		Not Sure		Disagree		Disagree Strongly		Aborigines		Non-Aborigines	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
1. Vietnamese should leave way of life behind	10.5	*3.4**	12.9	*16.9**	22.4	*19.1**	35.6	*43.8**	18.6	*16.9**	60.7*		54.2	Disagree
2. Job through school	32.0	*27.2*	48.1	*48.9*	10.1	*10.9*	8.4	*9.8*	1.3	*3.3*	76.1		80.1	Agree
3. No good trusting people	4.4	*8.7*	15.4	*21.7*	30.2	*33.7*	40.3	*30.4*	9.7	*5.4*	35.8		50.0	Disagree
4. Feel don't exist - don't matter to anyone	14.1	*4.4*	29.3	*25.6*	23.9	*23.3*	23.9	*35.6*	8.8	*11.1*	46.7	*disagree*	43.4	Agree
5. Good to have a mixture of cultures	15.3	*18.5*	37.4	*57.6*	25.2	*12.0*	12.6	*8.7*	9.5	*3.3*	76.1		52.7	Agree
6. No good staying at school to get a job	4.0	*4.4*	11.1	*4.4*	19.8	*26.4*	41.3	*39.6*	23.8	*25.3*	64.9		65.0	Disagree
7. Teachers not interested	9.5	*9.9*	13.9	*11.0*	12.9	*20.9*	45.4	*37.4*	18.3	*20.9*	58.3		63.7	Disagree
8. More important things than job or money	12.8	*12.0*	30.4	*26.1*	18.9	*19.6*	24.3	*29.3*	13.5	*12.0*	41.3	*Agree*	43.2	Agree
9. Won't get a job no matter how hard I work	2.7	*2.2*	7.1	*12.1*	26.2	*26.4*	41.5	*44.0*	22.4	*15.4*	59.4		63.9	Disagree

* denotes Aboriginal response

APPENDIX XXI (cont.)

N = 302 *N = 89*	Agree Strongly %		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %		Disagree Strongly %		Aborigines %		Non-Aborigines	
10. No coloured people as migrants	6.8	*3.3* *	10.1	*3.3* *	19.6	*8.9* *	33.8	*32.2* *	29.7	*52.2* *	84.4*		63.5	Disagree
11. Aborigines won't get job at C.E.S	4.1	*4.4*	6.1	*18.7*	21.2	*13.2*	43.3	*31.9*	25.3	*30.8*	62.7		68.6	Disagree
12. Can't change, no use worrying	11.9	*12.2*	28.3	*28.9*	26.3	*21.1*	23.5	*25.6*	9.9	*12.2*	41.1		40.2	Agree
13. Parents/friends will help with job	3.8	*3.3*	7.2	*6.6*	17.4	*19.8*	47.4	*44.0*	24.2	*25.3*	69.3		71.6	Disagree
14. People look at me, wish to hide	8.5	*6.6*	22.5	*15.4*	23.5	*22.0*	36.5	*41.8*	8.9	*14.3*	56.1		45.4	Disagree
15. Easiest job Gov.	1.7	*3.3*	9.9	*24.2*	34.6	*31.9*	36.0	*28.6*	17.8	*12.1*	40.7		53.8	Disagree
16. No good keeping in with relations	9.1	*14.3*	24.7	*30.8*	28.0	*23.1*	27.0	*23.1*	11.1	*8.8*	45.1	*Agree*	38.1	Disagree
17. Feel worthwhile at Church	3.1	*4.4*	12.2	*12.1*	24.7	*46.2*	27.4	*24.2*	32.6	*13.2*	37.4		60.0	Disagree
18. People friendly in suburb	14.3	*5.6*	38.4	*37.1*	25.9	*30.3*	14.6	*16.9*	6.8	*10.1*	42.7		52.7	Agree
19. Aborigines should merge into general population	16.0	*12.4*	31.0	*39.3*	32.3	*27.0*	11.6	*12.4*	9.2	*9.0*	51.7		47.0	Agree

APPENDIX XXI (cont.)

N = 302 *N = 89*	Agree Strongly %		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %		Disagree Strongly %		Aborigines %		Non-Aborigines	
20. End on dole	2.4	*3.3* *	3.4	*3.3**	9.1	*18.9**	48.3	*53.3**	36.8	*21.1**	74.4*		84.1	Disagree
21. Success = money	4.8	*6.7*	16.3	*14.4*	19.7	*23.3*	43.9	*47.8*	15.3	*7.8*	55.6		59.2	Disagree
22. I can change	11.9	*6.7*	38.4	*43.3*	29.6	*28.9*	14.6	*17.8*	5.4	*3.3*	50.0		50.3	Agree
23. Like me for myself	13.0	*10.0*	43.5	*54.4*	26.4	*24.4*	12.7	*10.0*	4.5	*1.1*	64.4		56.5	Agree
24. Like to know what people really think of me	30.3	*18.7*	44.2	*50.5*	16.7	*23.1*	7.8	*5.5*	1.0	*2.2*	69.2		74.5	Agree
25. Success = job	7.4	*9.9*	29.7	*31.9*	26.4	*22.0*	30.4	*29.7*	6.1	*6.6*	41.8		37.1	Agree
26. People in authority don't care	6.1	*5.7*	11.5	*13.6*	33.8	*37.5*	39.5	*40.9*	9.1	*2.3*	43.2		48.6	Disagree
27. Drink social thing	14.0	*21.1*	36.0	*47.8*	27.7	*17.8*	19.2	*8.9*	3.1	*4.4*	68.9		50.0	Agree
28. When things get hard, I give up	3.4	*2.2*	9.9	*12.2*	10.3	*20.0*	49.7	*44.4*	26.7	*21.1*	65.5		76.4	Disagree
29. Look after self - no use asking for help	10.5	*6.6*	21.8	*34.1*	24.1	*22.0*	35.0	*29.7*	8.5	*7.7*	40.7 37.4	*Disagree* *Agree*	43.5 32.3	Disagree Agree
30. Only go to school because I have to - no point in school	5.4	*5.6*	10.2	*9.0*	10.9	*10.1*	44.9	*52.8*	28.6	*22.4*	75.2		73.5	Disagree

APPENDIX XXI (Cont.)

N = 302 *N = 89*	Agree Strongly %		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %		Disagree Strongly %		Aborigines %	Non-Aborigines	
31. Aborigines should form stronger groups	13.0	*34.8**	28.8	*34.8**	32.5	*12.4**	13.0	*7.9**	12.7	*10.1**	69.6*	41.8	Agree
32. Feel like doing something bad to show I exist	9.2	*3.4*	23. 7	*20.2*	18.3	*15.7*	34.6	*46.1*	14.2	*14.6*	60.7	48.8	Disagree
33. Family reunions - fun	15.0	*13.5*	35.8	*46.1*	14.3	*21.3*	24.6	*13.5*	10.2	*5.6*	59.6	50.8	Agree
34. Sometimes wish different parents	10.1	*1.1*	20.7	*16.7*	10.7	*8.9*	28.3	*31.1*	30.3	*42.2*	73.3	58.6	Disagree
35. Success = friends	8.2	*6.8*	29.6	*13.6*	24.1	*27.3*	28.2	*39.8*	9.9	*12.5*	52.3	38.1	Disagree
36. Go to another school where people care	8.2	*9.0*	12.3	*20.2*	26.0	*23.6*	38.4	*39.3*	15.1	*7.9*	47.2	53.5	Disagree
37. Aust. worry Vietnamese get jobs	31.4	*26.4*	33.4	*33.0*	19.5	*19.8*	10.6	*9.9*	5.1	*11.0*	59.4	64.8	Agree
38. Can't see future	12.3	*6.6*	31.1	*19.8*	31.4	*41.8*	19.8	*26.4*	5.5	*5.5*	31.9 *Disagree*	43.4	Agree
39. No one would miss me	7.6	*5.5*	17.9	*4.4*	24.1	*24.2*	41.9	*53.8*	8.6	*12.1*	65.9	50.5	Disagree
40. English not good for mixing comfortably	4.9	*6.7*	9.0	*10.0*	10.8	*15.6*	51.0	*50.0*	24.3	*17.8*	67.8	75.3	Disagree

APPENDIX XXI (cont.)

N = 302 *N = 89*	Agree Strongly %		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %		Disagree Strongly %		Aborigines %		Non-Aborigines	
41. Lots of relatives to help	13.1	*11.1**	38.3	*44.4**	18.3	*25.6 **	22.4	*13.3**	7.9	*5.6**	55.5*		51.4	Agree
42. Better Eng. better job.	4.8	*5.5*	22.0	*28.6*	20.6	*27.5*	37.1	*30.8*	15.5	*7.7*	38.5		52.6	Disagree
43. Success = coping	24.1	*16.9*	46.7	*49.4*	19.2	*22.5*	8.9	*10.1*	1.0	*1.1*	66.3		70.8	Agree
44. Aborigines should get jobs before migrants	13.8	*35.6*	20.3	*25.6*	30.7	*23.3*	24.1	*11.1*	11.0	*4.4*	61.2	*Agree*	35.1	Disagree
45. Work hard benefits later	29.4	*13.2*	41.9	*38.5*	20.8	*35.2*	5.9	*11.0*	2.0	*2.2*	51.7		71.3	Agree
46. Feel ashamed of family	5.6	*2.3*	11.8	*5.7*	14.6	*9.1*	37.5	*47.7*	30.6	*35.2*	82.9		68.1	Disagree
47. More rules for success	4.2	*3.3*	19.6	*22.2*	44.4	*41.1*	24.5	*26.7*	7.3	*6.7*	33.4		31.8	Disagree
48. Feel more secure if we owned house	16.8	*9.2*	33.6	*23.1*	24.8	*38.5*	19.2	*21.5*	5.6	*7.7*	32.3		50.4	Agree
49. Never know what to expect at home	14.5	*18.4*	35.3	*23.0*	22.6	*27.6*	20.1	*21.8*	7.4	*9.2*	41.4		49.8	Agree
50. Nickname ashamed	19.1	*25.4*	11.8	*12.7*	18.6	*14.1*	19.1	*19.7*	31.4	*28.2*	47.9		50.5	Disagree

APPENDIX XXI (Cont.)

N = 302	Agree Strongly %		Agree %		Not Sure %		Disagree %		Disagree Strongly %		Aborigines %		Non-Aborigines	
51. Aborigines should try to be white	5.4	*3.4**	6.1	*9.0**	16.8	*6.7**	30.0	*22.5**	41.8	*58.4**	80.9*		71.8	Disagree
52. Fight for self	18.2	*21.3*	43.6	*31.5*	20.6	*18.0*	12.0	*15.7*	5.5	*13.5*	52.8		61.8	Agree
53. Need better house	4.9	*5.6*	6.0	*15.7*	12.3	*13.5*	42.8	*42.7*	34.0	*22.5*	65.2		76.8	Disagree
54. People help if you make effort	26.6	*23.3*	51.2	*45.6*	15.6	*35.6*	4.5	*3.3*	2.1	*2.2*	68.9		77.8	Agree
55. Alcoholics no purpose in life	11.6	*20.0*	30.5	*36.7*	28.8	*21.1*	23.3	*14.4*	5.8	*7.8*	56.7		42.1	Agree
56. Good to learn about other cultures	13.7	*24.7*	41.9	*39.3*	27.1	*23.6*	11.7	*10.1*	5.5	*2.2*	64.0		55.6	Agree
57. Hope for job, might miss out	24.7	*10.2*	55.8	*47.7*	8.6	*28.4*	8.9	*10.2*	2.1	*3.4*	57.9		80.5	Agree
58. Save up for future	39.1	*19.1*	47.8	*56.2*	9.7	*21.3*	2.4	*2.2*	1.0	*1.1*	75.3		86.9	Agree
59. Australians discriminate employing Aborigines	22.5	*28.4*	37.7	*31.8*	22.5	*19.3*	11.4	*12.5*	5.9	*8.0*	60.2		60.2	(ident.)
60. Self conscious about looks	17.0	*7.1*	37.7	*23.5*	24.9	*36.5*	17.3	*22.4*	3.1	*10.6*	30.6 33.0	*Agree* *Disagree*	54.7	(Agree)

* Aboriginal response.

APPENDIX XXII

SCHEDULE V

Student Data (Counsellor's view). Aboriginal students.

Key. 1 = Pt. Augusta High
2 = Augusta Park High
5 = Taperoo High
6 = Salisbury North High
8 = S.A.I.T.
9 = Stone's Business College.

Achievement relative to rest of class

		Very poor	Great Difficulty	Difficulty	Average	Above Average	Possible matric
Total	n = 48	4.0	26.0	38.0	24.0	6.0	2.0
1.	n = 20	10.0	25.0	40.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
2.	n = 8	0.0	25.0	25.0	37.5	12.5	0.0
5.	n = 16	0.0	25.0	43.8	18.8	6.3	6.3
6.	n = 4	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0

Teacher's view of employment prospects

		No hope	Some hope	likely	Very likely	Almost certain
Total	n = 52	11.3	50.9	26.4	5.7	5.7
1.	n = 23	17.4	60.9	21.7	0.0	0.0
2.	n = 8	0.0	25.0	37.5	25.0	12.5
5.	n = 16	12.5	68.8	18.8	0.0	0.0
6.	n = 4	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	50.0

Teacher's view of likelihood of student achieving success

		No hope	Some hope	likely	Very likely
Total	n = 47	6.3	56.3	29.2	8.3
1.	n = 18	11.1	72.2	11.1	5.6
2.	n = 8	0.0	25.0	62.5	12.5
5.	n = 16	6.3	68.8	25.0	0.0
6.	n = 4	0.0	25.0	25.0	50.0

SCHEDULE V Student data Cont. (Aborigines)

Counsellor's assessment of ego-identity/ego-diffusion

		Ego-identity %	Ego-diffusion %
Total	n = 45	53.2	46.8
1.	n = 20	70.0	30.0
2.	n = 8	37.5	62.5
5.	n = 16	37.5	62.5
6.	n = 1	100.0	0.0

Counsellor's assessment of delinquency

		No record %	Minor Problems %	Minor problems often %	Major Problems %
Total	n = 45	61.7	23.4	10.6	4.3
1.	n = 18	61.1	27.8	5.6	5.6
2.	n = 9	44.4	22.2	22.2	11.1
5.	n = 14	64.3	28.6	7.1	0.0
6.	n = 4	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

APPENDIX XXIII

SCHEDULE III data Success

Key 1 = Pt. Augusta High
2 = Augusta Park High
5 = Taperoo High
6 = Salisbury North High
8 = S.A.I.T.
9 = Stone's Business College

Job category expected on leaving school

			Gov.		Ab. or Gov.		Other		do not know	
Total	n = 74	*n = 230*	26.3	*26.5*	13.2	*N/A*	51.3	*65.3*	9.2	*6.2*
1	n = 23	*n = 78*	30.4	*33.3*	4.3	*N/A*	52.2	*60.3*	13.0	*6.4*
2.	n = 6	*n = 45*	0.0	*37.8*	0.0	*N/A*	83.3	*57.8*	16.7	*4.4*
5.	n = 13	*n = 73*	23.1	*21.9*	0.0	*N/A*	61.5	*71.2*	15.4	*6.8*
6.	n = 2	*n = 34*	0.0	*11.6*	50.0	*N/A*	50.0	*79.4*	0.0	*8.8*
8.	n = 13		30.8		53.8		15.4		0.0	
9.	n = 17		23.5		5.9		64.7		5.9	

Missing Observations = 19 *(59)*

Likelihood of job preferred

			Some hope		Likely		Very likely		almost certain	
Total	n = 74	*n = 223*	35.5	*35.2*	31.6	*32.2*	21.1	*36.9*	11.8	*9.7*
1.	n = 21	*n = 76*	47.6	*36.8*	14.3	*43.4*	33.3	*14.5*	4.8	*5.3*
2.	n = 7	*n = 44*	14.3	*31.8*	57.1	*38.6*	14.3	*20.5*	14.3	*9.1*
5.	n = 13	*n = 72*	46.2	*27.8*	30.8	*33.3*	15.4	*23.6*	7.7	*15.3*
6.	n = 2	*n = 31*	0.0	*45.2*	50.0	*29.0*	0.0	*16.1*	50.0	*9.7*
8.	n = 13		0.0		46.2		23.1		30.8	
9.	n = 18		50.0		27.8		16.7		5.6	

Missing Observations = 19 *(66)*

SCHEDULE III (Cont.)

Alternative job likely.

			Gov.		Ab. gov.		Other		Do not know	
Total	n = 57	*n = 169*	22.0	*15.8*	3.4	*0.6*	49.2	*56.5*	25.4	*27.1*
1.	n = 18	*n = 67*	27.8	*16.4*	0.0	*0.0*	38.9	*55.2*	33.3	*28.4*
2.	n = 4	*n = 30*	0.0	*16.7*	0.0	*0.0*	50.0	*63.3*	50.0	*20.0*
5.	n = 10	*n = 48*	40.0	*16.7*	0.0	*2.1*	40.0	*54.2*	20.0	*27.1*
6.	n = 2	*n = 24*	0.0	*12.5*	0.0	*0.0*	0.0	*54.2*	100.0	*33.3*
8.	n = 10		20.0		20.0		50.0		10.0	
9.	n = 13		7.7		0.0		76.9		15.4	

Missing Observations = 36 *(120)*

Rating of self as success (six point scale)

			failure										*success*	
			1		2		3		4		5		6	
			%		%		%		%		%		%	
Total	n = 70	*n = 225*	1.4	*0.8*	8.3	*1.3*	16.7	*11.3*	20.8	*26.9*	41.7	*39.1*	11.1	*20.6*
1.	n = 17	*n = 76*	5.9	*1.3*	23.5	*2.6*	23.5	*14.5*	29.4	*35.5*	5.9	*31.6*	11.8	*14.5*
2.	n = 4	*n = 43*	0.0	*0.0*	0.0	*0.0*	25.0	*16.3*	75.0	*27.9*	0.0	*27.9*	0.0	*27.9*
5.	n = 13	*n = 72*	0.0	*0.0*	7.7	*1.4*	23.1	*5.6*	30.6	*15.3*	38.5	*55.6*	0.0	*22.2*
6.	n = 2	*n = 34*	0.0	*2.9*	0.0	*0.0*	0.0	*11.8*	0.0	*32.4*	50.0	*32.4*	0.0	*20.6*
8.	n = 15		0.0		0.0		6.7		6.7		66.7		20.0	
9.	n = 19		0.0		5.3		15.8		5.3		63.2		10.5	

Missing Observations = 23 *(64)*

APPENDIX XXIV

Schedule IV Data - Location in groups

Key. 1 Pt. Augusta High
2 Augusta Park High
5 Taperoo High
6 Salisbury North High
8 S.A.I.T.
9 Stone's Business College

Membership of religious groups

			Never		Occasionally (2 or 3 times a year.		Often (16-12 times a year)		Very often (almost every month)	
			%		%		%		%	
Total	n = 78	*n = 250*	70.9	*32.4**	10.1	*31.3*	2.5	*20.7*	16.5	*15.6*
1.	n = 24	*n = 74*	66.7	*27.0*	8.3	*31.1*	8.3	*23.0*	16.7	*19.0*
2.	n = 6	*n = 47*	66.7	*36.2*	0.0	*27.7*	0.0	*19.1*	33.3	*17.0*
5.	n = 14	*n = 82*	92.9	*30.5*	0.0	*35.4*	0.0	*18.3*	7.1	*15.9*
6.	n = 2	*n = 41*	50.0	*46.3*	0.0	*26.8*	0.0	*19.5*	50.0	*7.3*
8.	n = 13		61.5		15.4		0.0		23.1	
9.	n = 19		68.4		21.1		0.0		10.5	

Missing observations = 15 *(48)*

** Non-Aboriginal response*

* Aboriginal response

Sporting Groups

			Number of groups attended							
			0		1		2		3	
			%		%		%		%	
Total	n = 80	*n = 244*	50.6	*32.4*	24.7	*31.3*	8.6	*20.7*	16.0	*15.6*
1.	n = 23	*n = 74*	34.8	*27.0*	43.5	*31.1*	13.0	*23.0*	8.7	*19.0*
2.	n = 7	*n = 47*	42.9	*36.2*	0.0	*27.7*	14.3	*19.1*	42.9	*17.0*
5.	n = 15	*n = 82*	46.7	*30.5*	33.3	*35.4*	6.7	*18.3*	13.3	*15.9*
6.	n = 2	*n = 41*	100.0	*46.3*	0.0	*26.8*	0.0	*19.5*	0.0	*7.3*
8.	n = 14		42.9		14.3		14.3		28.6	
9.	n = 19		73.7		15.8		0.0		10.5	

Missing observations = 13 *(45)*

APPENDIX XXIV

Ethnic groups meet

			Never %		Occasionally %		Often %		Very often %	
Total	n = 77	*n = 228*	55.7	*95.4*	6.3	*.4*	5.1	*2.1*	32.9	*2.1*
1.	n = 23	*n = 70*	47.8	*91.4*	13.0	*1.4*	4.3	*4.3*	34.8	*2.9*
2.	n = 7	*n = 44*	42.9	*100.0*	14.3	*0.0*	14.3	*0.0*	28.6	*0.0*
5.	n = 14	*n = 78*	78.6	*96.2*	7.1	*0.0*	0.0	*1.3*	14.3	*2.6*
6.	n = 2	*n = 36*	50.0	*94.4*	0.0	*0.0*	0.0	*2.8*	50.0	*2.8*
8.	n = 14		28.6		0.0		7.1		64.3	
9.	n = 17		82.4		0.0		5.9		11.8	

Missing observations = 16 *(71)*

I would like my relations to live near me.

			Disagree Strongly %		Disagree %		Not Sure %		Agree %		Agree Strongly %	
Total	n = 59	*n = 251*	5.0	*5.3*	18.3	*18.3*	38.3	*26.6*	25.0	*32.7*	13.4	*17.1*
1.	n = 18	*n = 71*	0.0	*4.2*	16.7	*18.3*	33.3	*26.8*	33.3	*39.4*	16.7	*11.3*
2.	n = 9	*n = 49*	0.0	*2.0*	11.1	*18.4*	66.7	*28.8*	11.1	*30.6*	11.1	*20.4*
5.	n = 15	*n = 81*	0.0	*6.2*	33.3	*18.5*	33.3	*32.1*	26.7	*27.2*	6.7	*16.0*
6.	n = 26	*n = 50*	50.0	*6.0*	0.0	*16.0*	50.0	*18.0*	0.0	*32.0*	0.0	*28.0*
8.	n = 14		14.2		7.1		35.7		21.4		21.4	
9.	n = 1		0.0		0.0		100.0		0.0		0.0	

Missing Observations = 34 *(28)*

APPENDIX XXV

SUBMISSION TO THE PROVINCIAL AND COUNCIL

CONGREGATION OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY

ABORIGINAL ENCLAVE

within St. Aloysius' College

for Aboriginal students wishing to proceed to tertiary education

PROPOSAL

That an Aboriginal enclave be set up within St. Aloysius' College, to commence operation 1985.
That an initial fifteen students be admitted, growing to forty over a period of years (i.e. about 5-6% of the total enrolment).
That an Aboriginal teacher be appointed in 1984 as a regular teacher, a) to be a presence in the school
b) to contact Aboriginal 'definers of reality' to legitimate the venture
c) to screen likely candidates

RATIONALE

My research has shown the paramount importance for Aboriginal people of the construction of Aboriginal identity.

Among the problems in achieving this end are

1) the negative stereotyping of Aborigines by non Aborigines.
2) the lack of the cohesive group (Aboriginal) within which identity may be constructed.
3) the discomfort of continuing with education in situations of rejection.
4) the lack of positive models within Aboriginal society
5) the tendency for education to distance the educated from the rest of the people.
6) the lack of theorizing about components of a specifically Aboriginal identity by Aboriginal people.
7) the theorizing of mainstream society that nihilates the 'world' of meaning of Aborigines and places them outside mainstream multi-cultural society.

Those groups which are visible to each other, and supportive of each other show the most positive views of the self AND the most positive views of 'Australian' society.

In planning there is a choice between
1) an enclave situation, 2) an integrated situation
3) a segregated situation.

I would argue for 1) or 3) on the grounds of the possibility of cohesion of a group necessary to build identity.

I would opt, for the secondary students I have in mind for 1) on the basis of the proved success of the Torrens A.T.E.P. programme and the S.A.I.T. programme, both developed for students at the tertiary level.

3) might well be better for the total primary school population in order to provide positive models, positive theorizing with which students may interact, and where they are initially protected from prejudice and rejection.

The present proposal is one of urgency to provide <u>normal</u> entry for Aboriginal students to proceed to higher education, so that Aboriginal people may exercise autonomy and self determination in organising their future, rather than white people.

SOME REQUISITES

It is judged essential to have

1) A qualified Aboriginal person as coordinator/teacher for the students, to commence in 1984

2) A qualified Aboriginal person as counsellor, home/school liaison person, to commence 3rd term, 1984

3) Tutors appointed where students have problems in achievement

4) A common room for informal gathering, coffee-room to which students and parents feel comfortable to come

5) A study room for off lessons, for after school, for those in difficult home circumstances. (This might well be a good idea for students in general with dislocated homes)

6) An Aboriginal Studies programme as part of the normal school curriculum

7) An adult education programme (ongoing)
   a) for parents of Aborigines
   b) for parents of non Aborigines concerning the project

8) A staff development programme 1984 and ongoing

9) Education would not be free - a fee would be expected, payable from the Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme, but on a sliding scale given the circumstances of those attending.

   It is important that Aborigines pay fees and <u>that this is known</u>
   a) to avoid white backlash
   b) to avoid perpetuating a 'hand out mentality'
   c) to give a basis of motivation

10) Teachers would be expected to demand high standards. Students would be expected to show high motivation, and undertake the hardships necessary to achieve, and agree to the normal school rules and expectations.

11) The staff would be integrated into the total staff, and under the direct control of the Headmistress

12) Sister D.F. Jordan would be available as consultant/ facilitator/reviewer 1984-1994

SUPPORT

It is expected that support for a counsellor, and part time coordinator could be sought through the Schools Commission, or Aboriginal funding agencies.

It is projected that, if this model can be made to work, it could be extended by others in the independent sector to boys and to the less able.

It is also envisaged that, while the project is primarily conceived as a service to the most disadvantaged group in our society, it will also fulfil a need to educate Catholic parents and students against negative rejecting attitudes.